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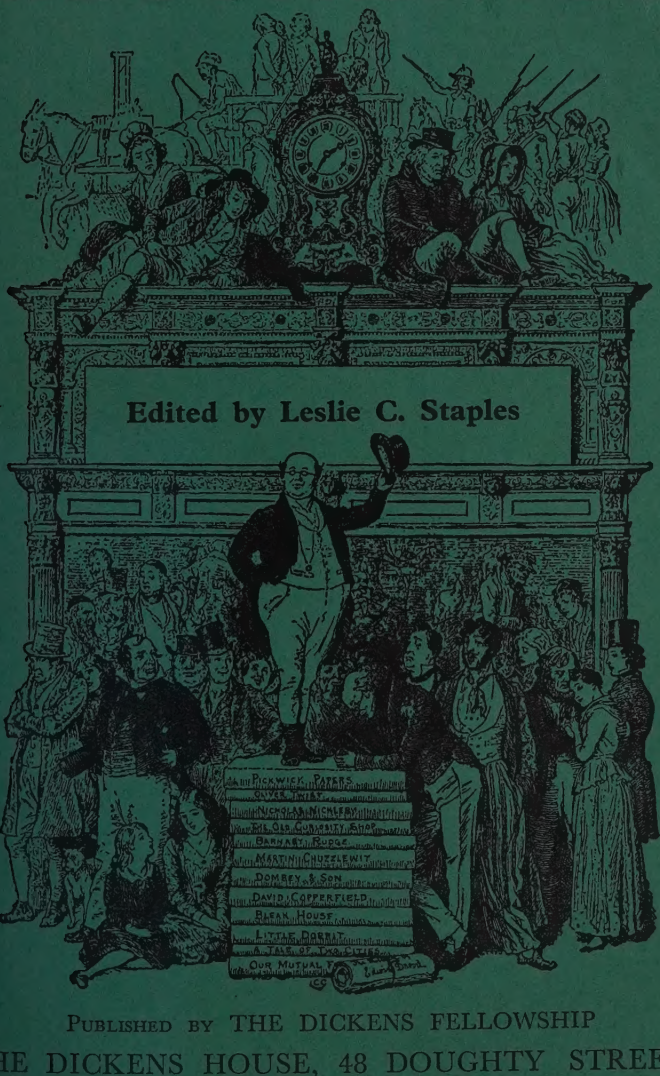
THE DICKENSIAN



Edited by Leslie C. Staples

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WANTED: *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, 3 Vols. Nonesuch Edition. Offers invited from dealers or private owners willing to separate *The Letters*, from the set. Quotations to Professor Ada Nisbet, 649 The White House, Albany Street, London, N.W.1.

BROADSTAIRS ANNUAL DICKENS FESTIVAL

1955

JUNE, 15th to 18th inclusive

Organised by the Broadstairs Branch of the Dickens Fellowship.

DICKENS PLAY - "BLEAK HOUSE"

by Gladys Waterer

From the novel by Charles Dickens.

Walking Tour of Old Broadstairs.

Dickensian Tea Party in the Garden of Bleak House.

Visit to Canterbury.

Other Attractions.

Further particulars of the Festival may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Broadstairs Branch, Dickens Fellowship, Dickens House, Broadstairs.

Please send a stamped addressed envelope.

GUINNESS WAS GOOD FOR THEM

THAT "PHIZ" should have drawn Sam Weller writing his Valentine in front of a Guinness placard shows how much a part of the background of life Guinness had become by 1837.

Guinness had probably reached England towards the end of the 18th century, when it had already been brewed in Dublin for nearly forty years. It had quickly become at home in every level of society, and as much a part of everyday life then as it is for us.

GUINNESS IS GOOD FOR YOU

G.E.2206

CHARLES DICKENS
at the age of 19
by Thomas Unwins, R.A.

from the collection of the late Percy Fitzgerald
by kind permission of Mr. J. C. Taylor
Curator of Eastgate House Museum, Rochester

THE DICKENSIAN

SPRING NUMBER

VOL. LI. MARCH 1955 No. 314

WHEN FOUND—

The Jubilee The Jubilee of *The Dickensian* has come and gone, a report of the commemorative meeting appears on another page, and we now pursue our normal course in the hope that the celebrations have drawn attention to ourselves and will assist the sales. This is the great anxiety at present. The circulation is not large enough for the magazine to pay its way and we have set our heart upon relieving Headquarters of the task of meeting the annual deficit. It is gratifying that it thinks sufficiently highly of the magazine to take on that responsibility year by year, but is there any valid reason why all branches should not support their own magazine to the best of their ability? During a recent continent-wide tour of North America we urged this need. The Boston (Mass.) Branch responded with a generous donation of $46. *The Dickensian* has been hailed, both within and without the Fellowship, as being worthy of all support. It is that that we plead for and for the elimination of the lamentable annual loss.

* * * * *

Conference This year's Annual Conference of the Dickens Fellowship is to be held at Blackpool from Friday, May 13th to 16th. A most attractive programme is being prepared and the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. N. Brammer, 237 Waterloo Road, Blackpool, will be pleased to send details to any members interested. It is recalled that Dickens visited Blackpool in pursuit of health in 1869 and wrote that "I have had a delicious walk by the sea to-day, and I sleep soundly and have picked up enormously in appetite."

* * * * *

Broadstairs The Dickens Festival at Broadstairs, such an enjoyable feature of the autumn season each year at Dickens's favourite Kentish resort, is this year to be moved forward to June, and the performances will be of an adaptation from *Bleak House* by Gladys Waterer, taking place from June 15th until 18th, as will other items in the always attractive programme. A request to the Town Clerk will bring details as soon as they are available. This change to a busier time of year will be welcomed by hosts of visitors. The town will see the opening in September of a fine new Secondary Modern School which is to receive the name of Charles Dickens. It will accommodate 450 or more boys and girls. The building incorporates a step from Dickens's old home at The Brook, Chatham, and it has also been presented with a bust of the novelist by the Dickens Fellowship.

Dickens at Christmas A remarkable series of huge murals reproducing illustrations of Dickens by Phiz, etc., decorated the main public rooms at London's Regent Palace Hotel at Christmas. They were as faithfully copied as they were effective and they created a very considerable attraction during the holiday season. They were inaugurated at a Dinner given by the proprietors on December 21st, at which the guests of honour were Lieut. Claud Dickens, R.N. (great grandson) and Mrs. Dickens. Also present were a number of well-known Dickens characters disguising the personalities of members of the Dickens Fellowship. Mr. Samuel Salmon presided and his welcome was replied to by Mr. John Greaves, Hon. Secretary. The room was perfectly decorated in period and the main dish to be served was a whole roast lamb. Also at Christmas, Mr. Bransby Williams opened a Dickens Exhibition at Messrs. Bewlay's beautiful show-rooms in Park Lane. The principal items of the exhibition were loans by the Dickens Fellowship, but also included a remarkable collection of Dickens characters created from paper, and a life-like model of the novelist seated at his desk.

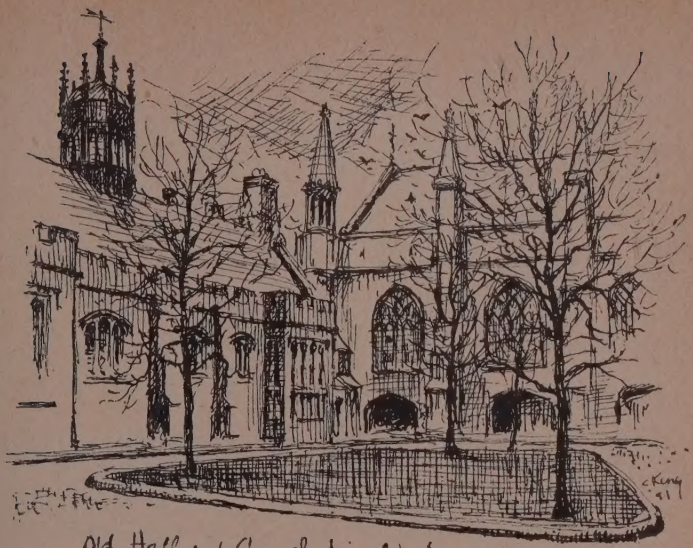
* * * * *

"*Punch*" A limited number of members of the Dickens Fellowship were privileged to visit the offices of *Punch* during January. The present building, dating from 1930, stands on the site of the building from which Dickens conducted *The Daily News* and is a very handsome one, but the chief attraction for the visitors was the historic Punch Table at which celebrated contributors have sat at weekly dinners for the greater part of the journal's career, and on which most of them have carved their initials. Mr. R. E. Williams received the parties and gave them a most interesting résumé of the history of *Punch* and its famous table.

* * * * *

Humphry House Recently the work on the new edition of Dickens's Letters, under the direction of Mr. Humphry House, had entered on a new and most satisfactory phase. For some time it had been feared that work might have to be prolonged indefinitely through lack of funds. But the Pilgrim Trust has now made a very generous grant towards the editorial expenses. To administer this grant an editorial Committee was set up, at the request of the Pilgrim Trustees, consisting of the active Editorial Staff; Mr. Rupert Hart-Davis, the Publisher of the edition, and Sir Maurice Bowra, Warden of Wadham College, Oxford. Greatly encouraged by these decisions, Mr. House arranged for a year's leave from his appointments at Oxford in order to devote himself entirely to the work. Then, on February 14th, he was suddenly stricken with thrombosis and died immediately. A tribute to him will appear in our next number. Our sympathy goes out to Mrs. House and her three children. If there are any readers who know of the existence of Autograph Letters of Dickens which have not yet been reported to the Editorial Staff, it would be much appreciated if they would communicate with Mrs. M. E. House, 61 Bateman Street, Cambridge.

LESLIE C. STAPLES.



Old Hall and Chapel Lincoln's Inn

OUR JUBILEE

COMMEMORATIVE MEETING AT LINCOLN'S INN

WHEN *The Dickensian* attained its majority in 1926, a small private dinner party at Pickwick's George and Vulture, celebrated the event. The plan was a good and thoroughly Dickensian one. But on the occasion of the Jubilee in January, it was considered that something more novel should be attempted. Thus it was arranged that a number of gentlemen, each distinguished in his own way, should discuss various aspects of the magazine after the manner of the B.B.C. "Critics," who have dealt with current artistic affairs each Sunday for so many years.

Accordingly, on January 7th, a large audience, in spite of very severe weather, assembled in the Old Hall of Lincoln's Inn, to hear the deliberations of a panel of "Critics," under the Chairmanship of the President of the Fellowship, the Rt. Hon. the Earl Jowitt. Their names and the subjects with which they dealt, were as follows:

Mr. Collin Brooks, M.C., author and former editor of *Truth*—Biography.

Prof. John Butt, B.Litt., M.A., Professor of English, Univ. of Durham—Research.

Mr. George Chadwick, F.R.S.A.—The Dickens Fellowship.

"Fieldfare" of *The Evening News* (London)—Topography.

Dr. K. J. Fielding, D.Phil. Oxford—Book Reviews.

Mr. Gordon Stowell, A.R.C.A. (Lond.), author and journalist—Format.

In opening the proceedings, Lord Jowitt (himself a former Lord Chancellor) pointed out that the Hall was the scene of Jarndyce *v.* Jarndyce (heard before another Lord Chancellor). He reminded the audience that the magazine had first appeared precisely fifty years ago, that its first editor was B. W. Matz, whose daughter graced the Hall that night, and who had occupied the editorial chair for the first twenty of the fifty years now celebrated. The second twenty were directed by Walter Dexter, until he in turn was succeeded by the present editor ten years ago.

The audience then settled down to an hour and a half's consideration of the magazine, much of which was a gratifying mixture of praise and constructive criticism. But a number of things were said under which the editor found it difficult to remain silent. At the conclusion the evening was too far advanced for him then to reply, and he takes the opportunity of so doing in the course of this report.

Each speaker, except Mr. Stowell, based his remarks upon three previously selected articles, and each member of the panel afterwards added his own views. Perhaps this plan was not the happiest that might have been devised, as clearly the panel in some cases clearly disagreed that the articles chosen were sufficiently representative.

Mr. Gordon Stowell, in opening the discussion on the format of the magazine considered that its unchanging appearance through the years typifies the unchanging regard with which Dickens work is held. The cover he thought both cheerful and dignified. The design he remembered as that used on the end papers of a once popular edition. [The work of Charles Green, it appeared on the wrappers of the periodical parts of the Household and Crown Editions.] Mr. Stowell regretted the lack of page headings and trimming. He thought the brief history by Mr. Leo Mason in the last issue was excellent. Professor Butt would like to see the cover changed frequently and urged the use of the cover designs for the original monthly parts. It seems to us that, when reduced, those famous designs are not very striking according to modern standards, a point made clear by the use of the design by " Phiz " for the *David Copperfield* Centenary Number in June 1949. " Fieldfare " argued that, as the green chosen clearly was intended as a reminder of the green of the original wrappers, therefore we should use that blue-green, not the present ugly shade. There we join issue with him, thinking the blue-green to be ugly, and the shade in use just the reverse. *Chacun à son goût.* Mr. Chadwick, with characteristic humour, regretted the reduction in the number of illustrations and the absence of sub-headings in recent years in an effort to draw fire upon himself, knowing full well that the answer was economy in both cases.

Mr. Collin Brooks in dealing with Mary Pendered's article on *Dickens the Rebel,* March 1933, found himself in agreement with the panel in that there was little to praise in it. Professor Butt later stating that the reforms advocated in *Bleak House* were, at the time the book was written, already before the public, and Dr. Fielding commented on Dickens's uncertainty as to the method

of bringing about reforms, while perhaps Dickens himself might have lent a ready ear to " Fieldfare's " suggestion that no House of Commons reporter would hope to reform anything. Mr. Brooks contended that *Dickens's Earliest Literary Friendship*, June, 1932, was not biography, but source matter for biography, which he hoped *The Dickensian* would continue to supply. Mr. Stowell, on the contrary, that the article was at least *biographical*. With regard to *Oh Angelica*, June, 1941, Mr. Brooks thought it charming fantasy but not biography, attractively written as it is. The editor was thought by some speakers to have erred in including this in the biographical section, but he is unrepentant. He has known far more " fantastic " contributions to Dickensian biography, and he thinks the conclusions Mrs. Major has drawn in this article quite worthy of a biographer's attention.

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Hugh Ross Williamson, Mr. George Chadwick dealt with Stage and Screen. It was agreed that Mr. Matz's contribution on Herbert Tree's production of *David Copperfield*, January, 1914, was difficult to assess as no one on the panel appeared to have seen the production. This deprived the editor, at any rate, of a discussion to which he had been looking forward, for this production in his view was far and away the finest dramatic adaptation from Dickens seen on the London stage these past forty years. The review of the film *Great Expectations*, March, 1947, came in for a good deal of praise, as did " Playfellow's " review of Mr. Emlyn Williams's first appearance as Dickens at the Reading-desk, March, 1952, but Mr. Stowell expressed the opinion that these matters should be dealt with in *The Dickensian*, by Dickensians and not by professional critics.

Mr. Chadwick, *in propria persona*, also dealt with the magazine as a record of The Dickens Fellowship. The articles under consideration were those reporting The Trial of John Jasper, February, 1914, the Pickwick Centenary, June, 1936, and the Fellowship's Jubilee, December, 1952. Mr. Chadwick thought these not representative of the Fellowship's work, but unless we are greatly mistaken they are the events to which most members will go back in memory when thinking of the Fellowship's history. Was it not something of a triumph to have secured the assistance, at the Trial of John Jasper, of nearly all the foremost writers of the day? The result was certainly entertaining, if inconclusive. " Fieldfare " wondered what would have happened had the jury retired to consider their verdict, from which predicament they were relieved by the impish resource of Bernard Shaw, resulting in a fiasco which Mr. Stowell considered a blessing, as the controversy can, and does, still go on. Some observations were made about the appearance of Mr. Pickwick on stage coaches at the Pickwick Centenary and at the Fellowship's Jubilee. It occurs to us that a Pickwick lover must have strangely cool blood in his veins not to be stirred by such a sight. If that is childish, well we have it on good authority that it is good to be childish sometimes, and why only at Christmas ? In any case, Mr. Pickwick in the flesh has always been greeted with joy in our recollection, both by members and by the public. Mr. Stowell regretted the scarcity of

Branch Notes. That is one thing for which the editor is NOT responsible. He cannot publish what he does not receive. Branch secretaries please note.

"Fieldfare," the popular writer in the London *Evening News* on the footpaths in the Home Counties, opened the discussion on Topography. He, and his colleagues, dealt somewhat harshly with Mrs. Gwen Major's *Todgers's*, September, 1932. Yet it seems to us that the arguments in it are sound and interesting, and that it is an extraordinary argument to say that any given house can be ruled out as having provided Dickens with some features for his purposes, because he neglected to make use of any one of other features it may happen to possess. Col. Gadd's *Where Dickens spent his honeymoon*, March, 1932, also came in for severe criticism because Col. Gadd omitted to quote the sources of his information that the house he was dealing with had been occupied by Mrs. Nash in 1836-37. Granted, that is to be regretted, yet the house has always been known as Nash's Cottage, and still is, and anyone acquainted with Col. Gadd's thorough and meticulous work will not debit him with rash assumptions. But we must speak out boldly about the sweeping condemnation of Mr. G. F. Young's *Marshalsea Revisited*, June, 1932. To state that it did not embrace a history of the prison is to complain that it did not do that which it did not set out to do, although an extremely short paragraph would suffice to contain the history of that particular Marshalsea. But to aver that it contains nothing new is patently ridiculous. With the exception of the fact that everyone knew of the survival of the main block of the prison with its exercising yard, everything in the article is entirely new, and Mr. Young was, and still is, heartily complimented upon it. There seemed to be an entire absence of enthusiasm for topography among the members of the panel, not perhaps surprising in some instances, but it was astonishing to hear "Fieldfare" making such a wild statement. To vast numbers of lovers of Dickens, a great part of the fascination of his work is that even to-day there is so much to be seen of the buildings and scenes that he faithfully described and among those notable for their identification of such places, stand Mrs. Gwen Major, Mr. George F. Young, and the late Col. W. L. Gadd.

Professor Butt dealt with research. He paid tribute to Walter Dexter's *Genesis of Sketches by Boz*, March, 1934, and made a further plea for a standard text. The *Sketches*, he said, now appear as Dickens revised them a great many years after they were written. Mr. Hill's *Notes* to the various novels called forth no great enthusiasm, yet they are of the greatest value to the less erudite, as the editor can easily testify from a very great deal of evidence. Mr. W. J. Carlton's *Companion of the Copperfield Days*, December, 1953, on the other hand was awarded the greatest praise, and the panel agreed that Mr. Carlton's work is among the finest to appear in the magazine in recent years. Dr. Fielding, also paying tribute to Mr. Carlton's work, referred to the common practice of taking letters at their face value, and spoke of the care and intelligence which they received at Mr. Carlton's hands.

Dr. Fielding dealt with the reviewing of books. Ley's review of Chesterton's *Charles Dickens*, October, 1906, he could not find very praiseworthy, and he liked neither book nor review very much. Dexter's account of Ley's edition of Forster, March, 1928, was, he said, a notice, not a review, and he thought that Mr. Carlton had been very generous to Edgar Johnson's *Life of Dickens*, March, 1953. Mr. Collin Brooks said he considered that the collected prefaces to Dickens's novels by G. K. Chesterton was by far a better book than his *Charles Dickens*, and he thought that Ley should have incorporated his invaluable notes into Forster's text. Professor Butt prefers Forster's criticisms of the novels, which he claimed to be still apt to-day.

Thus an interesting and stimulating night, one that could provide sufficient material for a thousand and one more, came to a close. If controversy is a sign of health in a publication then there should be a good future before *The Dickensian*, into the first fifty years of which there has gone such a sum of loving care and labour. But, may the editor warn, he must have the support of all who cherish its aims and achievements. The Headquarters of the Fellowship should not be called upon to make good the annual deficit indefinitely: many more subscribers, and still more, are needed before the magazine can rest on a firm basis.

The thanks of the Fellowship to the Chairman, and to the speakers, were expressed by Mr. Henry Charles Dickens, Life President.

A number of telegrams of congratulation were received from Branches of the Fellowship. During the evening the Derby figure of Garrick as Richard III, and the collection of eighteenth-century table silver presented to the editor at the Conference at Portsmouth, by members of the Fellowship, were on view.

THE EDITOR.

The block of the beautiful drawing of the Old Hall and Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, appearing at the head of this report, is most kindly lent by the artist and publisher, Charles King, Bucks Mills, Bideford, Devon.

RECENT DICKENSIANA

" *Hard Times*, an experience in Teaching," Helmut E. Gerber. *College English*, March 1954.

" Structural Patterns in Dickens's *Great Expectations*," John H. Hagen, Jr. *English Literary History*, March 1954.

" The Undisciplined Heart of David Copperfield," Gwendolyn B. Needham. *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, September 1954.

" Dickens *versus* Thackeray: The Garrick Club Affair," Gordon N. Ray. *Publications, Modern Language Association*, September 1954.

" Expectations Well Lost, Dickens's Fable for His Time," G. R. Strange. *College English*, October 1954.

DICKENS AND THE ROSS FAMILY

By William J. Carlton

THE name Ross occurs often enough in some of Dickens's early letters and diaries to warrant the inference that he was on terms of close friendship with several members of the Ross family, one of whom became his aunt by marriage. Janet Ross, who painted the earliest authenticated portrait of Dickens in 1830, had not long before married Edward Barrow, a younger brother of the novelist's mother. She is first heard of in 1816, when the silver medal of the Royal Society of Arts was awarded to Miss Janet Ross, Martlett Court, Bow Street, for an original chalk drawing of Venus from the statue in the British Museum.[1] Benjamin West, P.R.A., writing to a friend in June of the same year, expressed a high opinion of her talent as an artist,[2] and between 1817 and 1828 she exhibited some twenty portraits (including two of a sister) at the Royal Academy and the Suffolk Street Gallery of the Society of British Artists. From 1816 to 1820 she was living at 1 Martlett Court, and a few years later at 4 Howard Street, Strand, where she is found up to the time of her marriage. One of her portraits, a miniature on ivory of Mrs. Bryan Thomas Balguy (née Emma Broadbent), is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In 1836 Dickens presented his aunt with a copy of the first series of *Sketches by Boz*, inscribed "Mrs. Edward Barrow from her affectionate nephew the author."[3] Although the record of her marriage has not been found, the census return for 1851 shows that Edward Barrow, parliamentary reporter, was then living at 16 Hanover Cottages, Park Road, St. John's Wood, with his wife Janet, aged 53, born at Edinburgh; and two daughters, Grace and Margaret, aged 14 and 15 respectively.

Nearly all Dickens's recent biographers have repeated the statement of J. J. Foster, F.S.A.[4] that Janet Ross was a sister of the famous miniaturist, Sir William Charles Ross, R.A.; but I have failed to find evidence of any such relationship. The mistake seems to have arisen from a confusion of William Ross (1772-1850), the father of Sir W. C. Ross, with a contemporary William Ross (1764-1852) whose son of the same name was also an artist. This William Ross, a native of Edinburgh, was destined for the navy and served as a midshipman on board the *Formidable* under Captain Keith Stewart. Brought up in the school of high tory politics, at the outbreak of the French Revolution he renounced the political creed of his family and, with his brother George, became a member of "The Friends of the People," an association formed in London in 1792, to bring about universal suffrage and annual parliaments. The brothers were called as witnesses at the trials for sedition at Edinburgh, in 1794, of William Skirving, secretary to the British Convention, and Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerrald, delegates to the Convention, each of whom was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation. Their

[1] *Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts*, XXXIV, 29 (1817).
[2] F. G. Kitton, *Charles Dickens by Pen and Pencil*, 1890, p. 11 *n.*
[3] *The Dickensian*, XXX, 64 (December 1933).
[4] *Dictionary of Painters of Miniatures*, ed. Ethel M. Foster, 1926, p. 258.

evidence showed that the Ross brothers were employed as clerks in the office of the *Edinburgh Gazetteer* and that they were the joint authors of a handbill judged to be of "a seditious and inflammatory nature," to which Skirving attached his signature. William Ross, who described himself as a printer, was also a delegate to the British Convention and had taken shorthand notes of some of the speeches for publication in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*.

The fate of his fellow delegates may have led Ross to seek safety south of the border; at all events, he migrated to London about 1795. In that year, on November 7th, a daughter Janet was born at Edinburgh to William Ross, "clerk in London," and his spouse, Janet McLauchlan. In London, William Ross became editor and his brother publisher of *The Albion*, to which Charles Lamb was an occasional contributor. The study of foreign languages had always been one of William's favourite pursuits, and his talents in this direction were placed at the service of various newspapers. It was about 1816 that Ross began his connection with *The Times*, which continued to within a few years of his death. The rate-books of the City of Westminster show that a William Ross was in occupation of 1 Martlett Court, Bow Street, from 1814 to 1821 (the occupier for eight years previously had been Sophia Ross), and that he was a householder at 4 Howard Street, Strand, from the second quarter of 1821 to 1852. His wife, Janet Ross, died there on February 16th, 1834. In the census return of 1851 this William Ross is described as "formerly employed at the *Times* journal in the department of foreign intelligence." The other occupants of the house were his two daughters, Thomasina, aged 55, "translator of foreign languages," and Georgina, aged 48, with a young female servant. For more than fifty years of his long life William Ross had been connected with the London newspaper press, and for nearly forty of them was employed, at first as a reporter and afterwards as a translator, by the *Times*. In recognition of his services the proprietors of that journal continued to pay his salary up to the time of his death, at the age of 87, which occurred at 4 Howard Street on August 31st, 1852.

The name of William Ross appears on the title-page of an edition of Cuvier's *Lectures on Comparative Anatomy*, translated from the French and printed in 1802. He translated from the German Lessing's *Laocoon, or the Limits of Poetry and Painting*, published in 1836 with a dedication to the Duchess of Sutherland. A copy of this work, inscribed "To Charles Dickens, Esq., with Miss Ross's compliments," was among the books from the library at Gad's Hill sold after the novelist's death.

In his *Autobiography* William Jerdan calls Ross "an early newspaper reporter, a tremendous democrat in the Corresponding Society, and withal a very worthy man . . . At the time alluded to [about 1817-1818] he was a red-hot republican, though, like most of the others, he, too, cooled down in later years."[1]

William Ross had four sons—William, Charles, Francis and John—and as many daughters. William Ross, junior, is known

[1] *The Autobiography of William Jerdan*, 1852, II, 178, 237.

to have been living at 1 Martlett Court from 1816 until the move to 4 Howard Street, where he is found up to 1823. Four years later he was a trustee of Anderson's University, Glasgow (the oldest technical college in the kingdom), to which he was elected on June 22nd, 1829, Professor of the Principles of Sculpture and Painting. He was in London again in 1852, with an address at 30 Gerrard Street, and two years later was at 92 Great Portland Street. During this period he exhibited many pictures at the Royal Academy and the British Institution.

Through his aunt, Mrs. Barrow, Dickens would naturally have made the acquaintance of her family, and must have seen a good deal of her brother Charles soon after if not before entering the reporters' gallery of the House of Commons. Dickens's senior by twelve years, Charles Ross had entered the gallery on January 29th, 1820, the day of George III's death. Like Dickens, he had turned his skill as a shorthand writer to practical account at the age of 18, when he reported a meeting to select a parliamentary candidate for Westminster. The greater part of his active career of sixty-three years as a journalist was passed in the service of *The Times*, on which his father had been employed before him. The friendship of so experienced a journalist must have been of great value to the young aspirant for reporting honours, the more so as both were writers of the same system of shorthand.

On the morning of Monday, July 30th, 1832, Dickens wrote to his friend Henry Kolle from 15 Fitzroy Street, St. Pancras: "We propose to get one or two young men together for the purpose of knocking up a song or two," assuring him that there would be nothing "formal or party-like" in the arrangements, and adding: "I am specially directed to beg your attendance on the occasion." A similar invitation sent on the same day to an unidentified friend whom Dickens addressed as "My dear Longhurst" reads: "We intend asking Charles Ross and one or two fellows on Saturday evening next, to knock up a chaunt or two. If you will join our small circle it will give us the greatest pleasure to see you."[1]

Charles Ross was a familiar figure to successive generations of politicians in both Houses of Parliament and his experience of statesmen and prominent parliamentarians was probably unique. He could recall the face and manner of Lord Castlereagh. He had listened often to the brilliant oratory of Canning and the fierce invectives of Brougham. When Gladstone was a schoolboy at Eton, Charles Ross was helping to record the speeches of men then famous in Parliament. The debates of the ante-reform period were familiar to him during the premierships of Canning and Lord Goderich and the Duke of Wellington. Of Lyndhurst and Peel, O'Connell and Sheil, and many other well-known statesmen he retained vivid recollections and had a fund of anecdote arising out of his professional relations with them.[2]

Giving evidence before a Select Committee on parliamentary reporting in 1878, Ross declared: "The accommodation for reporters in the gallery is so extremely good compared to that

[1] *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. W. Dexter (Nonesuch Dickens), 1938, I, 8, 9.
[2] *Times*, Dec. 8th, 1884, p.6.

with which I was acquainted fifty-eight years ago, when I first entered the gallery, that it may be described as 'luxurious.' The roof was just about three yards [inches?] above my head. In front there were all the strangers, who of course would talk, even if in a subdued tone. A member might be speaking who could not be seen at all, and if you cannot see a man you cannot hear him well. The heat was excessive; the place was almost dark; in fact, it was dreadful in every way . . . When I first entered the gallery, if the Lords were sitting we took an hour's turn in each House—a terrible thing. When the circulation of the *Times* increased it was necessary to diminish the length of the turns to half an hour, and then to a quarter . . . After eleven o'clock the turns are shortened to ten minutes, after twelve to five minutes, and after one to two-and-a-half minutes."[1]

Charles Ross

One letter from Dickens to Charles Ross has been preserved. Written on a Monday evening from Doughty Street, on black-edged notepaper, it may probably be assigned to the summer of 1837:

" My dear Ross,

Many thanks for your statistical Magazine, which contains tables concerning juvenile delinquency that I was particularly anxious to see in a well digested form. Reciprocating all your kind wishes most cordially, I rest

Most sincerely yours,
CHARLES DICKENS."

It seems likely, as the editors of the Nonesuch edition point out, that the information supplied by Ross was intended for use in connection with *Oliver Twist*.

At the trial of O'Connell and other Irish patriots for conspiracy in 1844, Ross was called as a witness. From his evidence it appears that his long connection with the *Times* was interrupted for about three years after 1836, when he was employed for a short time by the *Morning Chronicle*, and that from 1837 to 1839 he edited the *City Patriot*, a Conservative newspaper. In July 1843 he went to

[1] *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Reporting*, 1878, pp. 36-39.

Ireland at the suggestion of the government and took notes of the Liberator's speeches at several meetings of the Repeal Association, for which he was paid £400. He admitted that he had never before made so much money in so short a time. He had been a moderate Whig before the passing of the Reform Bill, but was then a Conservative. Pressed to define his earlier political creed, he caused some hilarity by replying:

" In moderation placing all my glory,
Tory would call me Whig and Whig would call me Tory!"

Glimpses of " Charley " Ross are to be found in the reminiscences of many journalistic colleagues and contemporaries. Thomas Thornhill Clarkson, a reporter who served under John Dickens on the *Daily News*, recalled having seen him once about three a.m., after the House had risen, in a Shoe Lane tavern much patronised by the fraternity.[1] This was before Ross had attained, about 1853, to the dignity of chief of the *Times* parliamentary corps. William Maxwell, of the *Standard*, credited him with having recommended the hard-boiled egg and glass of gin that was " Memory " Woodfall's only refreshment when listening to a debate which he would reproduce without having taken a note.[2]

Henry (afterwards Sir Henry) W. Lucy—" Toby, M.P.," of *Punch*—who succeeded Clarkson on the *Daily News* in 1872, was convinced that Ross took a personal dislike to him from the first and exhibits him in a none too favourable light. " He was said to be the only person who ever read through the voluminous daily reports of parliamentary proceedings. He carefully studied these, finishing in time to get down to the House by four o'clock, the hour at which the Speaker at that time took the chair. Old members of the corps knew quite well when Ross had a good crop of complaints and corrections to make. On such occasions his face was illumined with a cheerful look customarily lacking. As soon as questions were over, he used to take his seat on a bench between the exit from the gallery and the small room in which the *Times* men wrote out their turns. As the culprits passed out, ignorant of what was in store for them, old Ross called them one by one to sit by him, and, opening out the paper, would descant on their *laches*. This was known in the gallery as " being on the gridiron." The same writer adds that " this genial old gentleman, at the time I made his acquaintance, had not spoken to his brother for a quarter of a century."[3]

Another acquaintance described him as " a pleasantly irascible old man, full of good nature and rich in cranky quippish humour. He, however, could not tolerate the penny dailies; the introduction of the electric telegraph into the gallery affronted him; and when the *Times* put on the telephone as the means of transmitting its parliamentary reports to Printing House Square, Mr. Ross felt that life was indeed no longer worth living, and he went home to die."[4]

Charles Ross enjoyed the unique privilege of having two seats

[1] MS. Recollections, in the Press Gallery Library.
[2] *Time*, May 1889.
[3] *Sixty Years in the Wilderness*, 1909, p. 36. Cf. *Strand Magazine*, January 1893, p. 92.
[4] *Reporters' Journal*, XI, 12 (January 1885).

allotted to him in the reporters' gallery, immediately behind the Speaker's chair: one in his capacity as *Times* reporter, the other as editor of the *Parliamentary Record*, a valuable summary of the proceedings in both Houses first issued in 1801, which contained division lists, notices of motion for the next session, a record of private bills introduced, and much other relevant information.

In those days, Sir Thomas Wemyss Reid assures us, a gulf that was regarded as impassable divided the members of the Press from the members of the House. "Occasionally the white haired, or rather white-wigged, Mr. Ross, the head of the *Times* parliamentary corps, might be seen holding a mysterious colloquy in some gloomy corner behind the gallery with some politician; but the overwhelming majority of the reporters never exchanged a word with a Member of Parliament in their lives." [1]

A remarkable tribute to Charles Ross was paid by Mr. R. F. D. Palgrave, Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, in *The House of Commons: Illustrations of its Procedure and Practice* (1878). After outlining a plan for an authorised report of the debates, for which the gallery reporters would have been jointly responsible under the supervision of their chiefs, he concluded: "If, by way of illustration, I may refer to a gentleman who has influenced, by his eminent abilities and literary judgment, the publication of the parliamentary debates for more than half a century, another Mr. Ross, if such might be, should receive the important post of Editor General for the House of Commons."

Charles Ross retired in his 84th year and soon afterwards, on December 6th, 1884, breathed his last at 3 Oakfield Street, West Brompton. His gravestone on the east side of Brompton Cemetery commemorates also his wife Elizabeth, who was buried there on January 6th, 1877, aged 70. A portrait of him which was in one of the rooms used by the gallery reporters disappeared during World War II. His son, Charles Henry Ross, became well known as the editor of *Judy*, the creator of Ally Sloper, and the author of many humorous books.

The brother who, according to Sir Henry Lucy, had not been on speaking terms with Charles for 25 years, may have been John Ross. Born in 1808, he was also a *Times* reporter for the greater part of his life and for a time was chief of the parliamentary corps of that newspaper. In March 1830 he was living at 4 Howard Street, Strand, and in the register of Lincoln's Inn, to which he was admitted on November 2nd, 1831, was described as the fourth son of William Ross, Howard Street, Strand. If we may judge from occasional allusions to him in Dickens's letters and elsewhere, he was a close friend of the Dickens family in the '30's. "John Ross dines with us on Saturday," wrote Dickens to his old colleague, Thomas Beard; "will you do the same at 5 o'clock?" This letter was written at Doughty Street on a Wednesday morning, probably January 3rd, 1838. On the 6th, Dickens noted in his diary: "Our boy's birthday one year old. A few people at night only Forster, the De Gex's, John Ross, Mitton and the Beards, besides our families to twelfth cake and forfeits." John Ross was called to the Bar on June 7th, 1838, and

[1] *Memoirs of Sir Wemyss Reid*, 1842-1885, ed. Stuart J. Reid, 1905, p. 124.

is said to have written the summary of the proceedings in the House of Lords as long as he was able to move about at all. He survived his elder brother by only six months and was 77 when he died, on June 5th, 1885, at 5 Furnival's Inn.

Another brother, Francis Ross, was living at 4 Howard Street as early as 1828, when he was described as a drawing professor and historical painter, but afterwards seems to have drifted into journalism. With eight other *Times* reporters, Charles, John and Francis Ross signed a strongly-worded protest in that newspaper against O'Connell's charge in the House of Commons that his speeches had been misreported. On the evening of October 29th, 1835, Francis Ross "dropped in" at Furnival's Inn, where Dickens was trying to concentrate on a sketch he was writing for *Bell's Life in London*, and remained till midnight discussing his plans for a trip abroad. He was, wrote Dickens to his fiancée, "too much immersed in the importance of his projects to take the slightest heed of my agonised appearance." Can it be merely a coincidence that in another sketch, "A Passage in the Life of Mr. Watkins Tottle," first printed in the *Monthly Magazine* of January 1835, Mr. Gabriel Parsons is made to refer to Frank Ross as one of the partners in a rubber at cards?

Francis Ross was the editor of *The London Saturday Journal*, a popular weekly illustrated magazine, from its first appearance in January 1839 to January 1841, when James Grant became joint editor with him. It was advertised on the wrapper of Part 15 of *Master Humphrey's Clock*. In the following December the paper was conducted by Grant alone and Ross's name was dropped. At least three letters from Dickens to Francis Ross have survived; all of them were written from Devonshire Terrace, two in December, 1841, the third on March 16th, 1843, and all three relate to appointments. A projected walk was postponed because of the "particularly national" weather, and in the last letter, addressed to "my dear Frank," Dickens wrote that "a quarter to two is the time to have me on the hip."

A copy of *Peter Jones: an Autobiography*, published anonymously in 1848, was presented by the author to John Britton, F.S.A., in return for the latter's gift of *The Authorship of the Letters of Junius*. The accompanying letter shows that the author was Francis Ross and that he was living in June 1849 at 29 Richmond Grove, Islington.[1]

If he was friendly with the Ross brothers, Dickens would appear to have been even more attracted by their sister Georgina, in whose album he wrote an early draft of "The Ivy Green" in May 1836. William Andrews, in a short biographical notice of Charles Henry Ross (*Modern Merry Men*, 1904), states that one of his maiden aunts "was for a time engaged to Charles Dickens, and he wrote 'The Ivy Green' for the first time in one of her books." The album in question was sold at Sotheby's on November 14th, 1933, on behalf of Miss M. S. Knox, a grandniece of Georgina Ross, for £150. Miss Knox communicated to the late Count A. de Suzannet a family tradition that Dickens was a great

[1] Cambridge University Library.

admirer of the owner of the album and wanted to marry her. The lady's father, however, refused his consent on the ground that the young journalist was too worldly and pleasure-loving to make a good husband.[1] A further obstacle to the match may well have been the disparity between their ages, for Georgina was nine years older than Charles. She never married and lived on until April 1886.

Like her younger sister, Thomasina Ross lived with her father at Howard Street until his death. Born about 1796, she was an accomplished linguist and claimed to have mastered all the principal languages of Europe. William Jerdan, with whom she collaborated on the *Literary Gazette* in 1817, called her a " ready and excellent translator, whose talents were of a sound order, especially for a youthful female."[2] Many translations from her

The Three Sisters: Georgina, Janet and Thomasina Ross.

pen appeared in the *Polytechnic Journal* between 1840 and 1842, others in *Bentley's Miscellany*, 1846 and 1848. In addition to helping her father in his work for *The Times*, she translated F. Bouterwek's *History of Spanish and Portuguese Literature* (1823, second edition 1847); Count Saint-Marie's *Algeria in* 1845 (1846); J. L. Von Tschudi's *Travels in Peru* (1847); and Humboldt's *Narrative of Travels to the Equinoxial Regions* (1852). A copy of Von Tschudi's *Travels in Peru*, inscribed " To Charles Dickens, Esq., with the remembrances of the Translator, Mar. 20, 1847," was in the library at Gad's Hill.

Writing to Chapman and Hall on October 28th, 1842, Dickens alluded to the bearer as " Miss Ross, the lady in reference to whom I have already written you," and added: " I need say no more to secure to her your ready attention." Two letters to her from the novelist are printed in the Nonesuch edition, one dated 14th October, 1841, the second 1st April, 1847. A third letter, addressed in full to Miss Thomasina Ross, reads: " I think I may

1 *The Dickensian*, XXX, 151 (Spring 1934).
2 *Autobiography of William Jerdan*, II, 178, 237

often avail myself of your offer, to our mutual advantage. If you can suggest to me (either at once, or in the course of the next few weeks) any particular book or subject, Spanish or German, of which you can write a popular account, I will immediately tell you whether it would convey what I have in mind. Mrs. Dickens begs me to send her kind regards." This was on January 21st, 1850, and the upshot was that Thomasina became a contributor to *Household Words*, eight papers from her pen appearing in that periodical between June 29th, 1850, and October 11th, 1851. Their titles were "Belgian Lace Makers," "Winged Telegraphs," "A Very Old Soldier," "Gossip about Brussels," "Lunatic Asylum in Palermo," "Tahiti," "The Mouth of China" and "Adventures of a Diamond."

Early in 1852 the Earl of Carlisle applied to Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, for a Civil List pension in recognition of Thomasina Ross's literary labours; but Lord John's retirement soon afterwards led to the application being shelved. A second appeal to Lord Palmerston three years later was more successful. and *The Times* of January 30th, 1856, announced that "Her Majesty, on the recommendation of the Premier, has been pleased to confer a pension of £50 on Miss Thomasina Ross, for her long connexion with literature and her admirable translations from French, German and Spanish." Thomasina's long and active career ended at Sunderland on February 2nd, 1875.

My thanks are due to Mr. Charles H. Ross, grandson of Dickens's gallery colleague, for the loan of the photographs reproduced with this article, and for information about his ancestors.

DOSTOEVSKY FOR DICKENSIANS

By Bryan F. Hulse

MODERN critics have repeatedly drawn parallels between Dickens and Dostoevsky. Edmund Wilson gave the lead in his influential essay when he declared the two writers had much in common: their emotional instability; their social maladjustment; their obsession with crime. More recently Edgar Johnson, in his biography, made numerous references to Dostoevsky, and asserted that Dickens was his master. Undoubtedly Dostoevsky was influenced by Dickens and even produced his own version of Little Nell in his novel, *The Insulted and Injured*. Therefore, Dickensians who are not familiar with the great Russian must feel some curiosity about him.

Dostoevsky is not an easy writer to understand. But his work becomes more comprehensible when it is related to the two fundamental sources of his inspiration: the nature of the man; the texture of his experience.

Dostoevsky was extremely nervous, hypersensitive, an inveterate gambler, utterly unreliable financially, and with an unlimited capacity for debasing himself to people—particularly women. In addition he was an epileptic. This disease, with its strange mental exaltation and depression, intensified his uncanny

sensibility and psychological insight. His literary masterpieces were forged in the furnace of this frenzied personality.

Dostoevsky was born in 1821 in a Moscow hospital for the poor, where his father was a resident doctor—an insecure, lower middle-class position. Dostoevsky's birthplace seems symbolic; for he always sympathised with the poor and the outcasts of society, although not with the practical application of Dickens. In his youth Dostoevsky trained as a military engineer. All his interest, however, was in literature and the critics acclaimed his first novel, *Poor Folk*. But in 1849 Dostoevsky's literary ambitions were swept away like leaves before a hurricane. Suspected of political intrigue, he was arrested by the Czarist police and condemned to death; but, almost at the moment of execution, his sentence was commuted to exile in Siberia.

His four years of imprisonment vitally influenced Dostoevsky. His physical lot was appalling: with his body chained, his head shaved, herded in the closest proximity to the lowest criminals – murderers, thieves and perverts—he endured filth, stench and hard labour. As a writer he intensely studied these wretched companions; they became the raw material of his later novels, when he explored the depths of the criminal mind. Dostoevsky read avidly the only book allowed in the prison: the New Testament: its teaching was the perfect anodyne for his sufferings; and his love for Christ and his search for God dominated his subsequent writing. Once, in the prison hospital, Dostoevsky was delighted to discover translations of *David Copperfield* and *Pickwick Papers*. Dickens profoundly interested him. Soon after his release from prison Dostoevsky wrote *The Friend of the Family*; the influence of Dickens is unmistakable in the central character, Foma Fomitch: oppressed, but secretly despotic, he is of the progeny of Uriah Heep.

After his return from Siberia Dostoevsky spent many difficult years establishing himself as a writer, his circumstances always being exacerbated by his irrational behaviour. In middle life, however, he married his young secretary; and Anna's wisdom and devotion calmed the tempest of her husband's life. When he died in 1881 it was recognised that Russia had lost a great literary genius.

Crime and Punishment is better known, and easier to read, than Dostoevsky's other major novels: *The Idiot*, *The Possessed*, and *The Brothers Karamazov*. Its powerful theme is indicated by the title: on the one hand, crime—not the social or legal aspect, but the psychological nature of crime; on the other hand, punishment—not the punishment of the scaffold or the prison, but the spiritual reaction to crime on the part of the transgressor.

From the first disturbing page the reader feels identified with the principal character: Raskolnikov, a young student living in abject poverty in St. Petersburg. In his sordid garret, and in the stifling, fetid streets there is a sense of impending disaster: the tortured brain in that starved body is contemplating murder—the murder of a woman, a wicked old moneylender. Soon Raskolnikov commits his crime. Only gradually, however, do his complex motives reveal themselves. The first is almost altruistic: he

believes that it is right to exterminate such a social parasite and make good use of her wealth. He believes the end justifies the means. Secondly, he has written an article denouncing morality as the fraud and fiction of the weak. The really strong man, he contends, defies the moral code. According to Raskolnikov's reasoning, mankind is divided into two categories: the great majority who live in obedience and subjection; and the few, the exceptional men, the Napoleons, who show no respect for life, laws, or morals if these obstruct their ambitions. Obviously all conduct is lawful to these supermen; they are beyond the laws of good and evil.

Raskolnikov, the frustrated intellectual, dejectedly theorising in his garret, imagines he has the qualities of a superman. To convince himself he commits the one crime through which he can exercise the maximum of self-will over another—murder. This seems a fantastic motive for a murder. But Raskolnikov is one of Dostoevsky's many schizophrenes—characters whose minds are torn apart by contending forces—often great humility and tremendous pride: they long for goodness; but they live on the brink of evil. Raskolnikov in dividing mankind into two categories is projecting his own inner dualism into society. He seeks to resolve these contradictory forces of his nature by this crime which will satisfy the Satanically proud side of his personality and identify him with the supermen.

In describing Raskolnikov's reactions after the murder it is probable Dostoevsky was influenced by *Martin Chuzzlewit.* Dickens depicted in Jonas Chuzzlewit a man whose crime isolates him from humanity. And Raskolnikov finds his crime separates him from the crowd only too successfully: his guilt makes him a pariah. As this inferno of isolation and spiritual torment becomes intolerable, he realises he is not a superman, and he seeks an escape. He confesses to a prostitute, Sonia Marmeledov. The influence of Dickens is clear in the conception of the Marmeledovs: the irresponsible father, drunken, pompous, and often unintentionally humorous, with his long-suffering family, certainly owe much to the Micawbers. Sonia, an aspiring Christian in spite of her physical degradation, persuades Raskolnikov to confess publicly, and then she accompanies him to exile in Siberia. Unrepentant at first, Raskolnikov, after suffering and illness, gradually loses his pride and self-will. As the story closes it seems that, through the acceptance of Sonia's faith, his better self will gain ascendency; his dualism will be resolved; he will be born anew.

In *Crime and Punishment,* therefore, Dostoevsky asks the question: must man be bound by the laws of morality, or, can he repudiate them to satisfy his own self-will? In the hell which Raskolnikov creates for himself Dostoevsky shows the spiritual ravage which such a repudiation can cause; he shows that the subconscious moral sense is stronger than the intellect; he shows the bankruptcy of an intellectual faith in self when it opposes the eternal moral laws.

Prince Myshkin, the central character in *The Idiot,* is the antithesis of Raskolnikov. In fact, *The Idiot* is in some ways *Crime and Punishment* in reverse. *Crime and Punishment* is the study of

an extreme egoist who tries to set himself apart from humanity and fails; *The Idiot* is the study of a man of utter, Christ-like simplicity in a world of egoists and schizophrenes. And here the influence of Dickens is palpable. In a letter written after completing the first part of the novel Dostoevsky says: " The principal conception of the novel is to depict the positively good man." As literary exemplars he mentions Don Quixote and Mr. Pickwick. " Pickwick," he writes, " is ridiculous and succeeds in virtue of this. A feeling of compassion is produced for the much ridiculed good man who does not know his own worth."

Fundamentally Mr. Pickwick and Myshkin are identical: they represent the world of the ideal in conflict with the world of reality. But there the similarity ends. The character of Myshkin has no comic element; it is essentially tragic—deeply, profoundly tragic. Myshkin has had a severe nervous illness abroad; and when he returns to Moscow to take up an inheritance he is immediately the centre of a vortex of hatred and lies, passion and jealousy. In his naive, humble way he often confounds the sinners who surround him. But, despite his spirituality, Myshkin fails in his desire to spread love and goodness; those he would help or influence are rendered unhappy—one woman is even murdered; and he himself finally lapses into idiocy. His failure in this world, where things of the spirit are so often consumed in the flame of reality, does not, however, detract from the beauty of Myshkin's goodness: he is one of Dostoevsky's greatest creations.

The Possessed is the most topical of Dostoevsky's novels to-day; the revolutionary society of which it is a study foreshadows the features of the modern totalitarian State. A reference to Russian history explains its main theme. Russia's disastrous defeat in the Crimean War intensified the opposition to the Czarist government, and eventually in 1861 Alexander II introduced a major reform: the emancipation of the serfs. This did not, however, completely allay the agitation for other reforms. During the 1860's and 1870's the unrest in Russia found its main expression in the activities of fanatical young revolutionaries called Nihilists —a name first given to them by Turgenev, in his novel *Fathers and Children*. The Nihilists advocated the overthrow of the Czar and the socialisation of Russian society. They had no hope of seizing central power but worked in small groups in Russian towns and villages. Sometimes they used terrorism; but, more generally, they tried to spread disaffection amongst the masses. *The Possessed* is concerned with the disrupting activities of one of these groups in a small town, and the murder of a fellow conspirator suspected of treachery.

Dostoevsky, in his powerful story, indicts the violent methods of the Nihilists: he presents them as " possessed " and, like Gadarene swine, rushing headlong to destruction. Thus, he implies, the theory that " the end justifies the means " when applied individually produced Raskolnikov's crime; when applied socially it produces mass violence—Nihilism, revolution, war. And if individuals, groups, or nations thus break the laws of morality then retribution follows. Despite this condemnation there is a suspicion at times that Dostoevsky feels the fascination

of violence and identifies himself with the rebels, in a manner that recalls Dickens in the mob scenes of *Barnaby Rudge* and *A Tale of Two Cities*. In each writer a deep-rooted resentment against society is being expressed. Indeed, after Dostoevsky's sufferings at the hands of the Czar's government it seems strange that he should oppose the revolutionaries. But, following his release from prison, Dostoevsky—partly from conviction; partly, perhaps, from expediency—believed ever more strongly in the existing order in Russia: the Czar and the Russian Orthodox Church.

It should be explained that nineteenth-century Russian intellectuals, in their approach to the question of Russia's destiny, were split into two camps: the Westerners and the Slavophiles. The Westerners, following the tradition of Peter the Great, believed Russia should look to the influence of Western Europe for her advancement. The Slavophiles, including Dostoevsky, resented foreign influence. They regarded the West as materialistic, corrupt, and godless. In a mystical way they believed in Russian salvation through the Slav peoples, through the peasants, through the Russian Church. They believed in the Messianic mission of Russia; that from the Russian masses would spread universal love and the brotherhood of man.

In the light of such views, Dostoevsky regarded the violence of the Nihilists as an expression of the revolutionary socialism of Western Europe and he hated it accordingly. He never lost his deep sympathy for the oppressed of Russia; but he had no faith in revolution and a socialised society: he believed in their emancipation through faith in God and the innate goodness of man.

The Brothers Karamazov is Dostoevsky's longest novel but its basic plot is comparatively simple. The Karamazov family lives in a Russian provincial town. The father, a revolting old sensualist, has three sons: Dmitri, passionate and unbridled, but generous-hearted; Ivan, a brilliant intellectual; and Alyosha, gentle and tolerant, a novice at the local monastery. Dmitri and his father are rivals for the love of a wild, fascinating woman, Grushenka. And when the father is murdered by Smerdyakov, an illegitimate son, Dmitri is wrongly convicted of the crime on circumstantial evidence. The events leading to the murder, the drama of the crime itself, and the subsequent trial of Dmitri are perhaps the most thrilling chapters Dostoevsky ever wrote.

But, throughout the novel, transcending even this dramatic narrative, is a long, intermittent debate on God, faith and life. Dostoevsky frequently created characters who represented different aspects of his ideas on life; then he dramatically showed such characters in conflict. In *The Brothers Karamazov* he projected his own deepest doubts and beliefs on the subject of God and religion into the characters of Ivan and Alyosha, and a Father from the monastery, Zosima.

Ivan, the intellectual sceptic, indicts Christianity on two counts: suffering and sin—those eternal problems of the Christian. He cannot reconcile the presence of suffering in the world—and particularly the suffering of innocent children—with the conception of a wise and just God. If eternal life, and eternal harmony, are to be the reward for such suffering then he would repudiate

that reward—the cost is too great. As regards sin, Ivan's attack is contained in a story he has written: he imagines Christ returning to earth at the time of the Spanish Inquisition. Arrested and imprisoned, Christ listens in silence to the denunciation of the Grand Inquisitor. The error of Christ, declares the Inquisitor, was that humanity was given the free will to choose between good and evil; and that freedom of choice, with its demands on the conscience, is a burden to men: so easy to sin; so difficult to follow Christ.

In reply Father Zosima does not deny the acuteness of Ivan's arguments—on the rational plane. But he counsels belief in the essential goodness of Divine providence; he counsels acceptance of the world with all its suffering and sin as the creation of God. Suffering, he implies, has a spiritualising purpose: it reminds man of his dependence and insufficiency; it creates in him that prime condition of virtue—humility. As regards sin, Zosima insists that we must all recognise our share in the collective guilt of mankind. We are all sinners; we are all guilty: we must bear the burden of that guilt. Finally, Zosima believes, the secret of harmony with God is not achieved by the intellectual, analysing approach of Ivan, but by the heart, by feeling, by faith, and—above all—by love. In *The Brothers Karamazov* this spiritual conflict, this search for God, superimposed on the physical drama of crime, make one of the world's most memorable novels. *The Brothers Karamazov* was Dostoevsky's last work; and even here, as Lionel Trilling has so perspicaciously pointed out, Dickens's influence is evident—in Ivan and Smerdyakov: they have that air of evil gentility so characteristic of Blandois in *Little Dorrit*.

Dostoevsky's novels, although dominated by these ideas and philosophies, are basically stories of crime, mystery and suspense. Dostoevsky was not a consistent and systematic thinker; he was a great literary artist who created a unique world of the imagination—a world of dim shapes and strange happenings, where men commit murder or suicide to prove a theory, where nerves are strained almost beyond endurance, where the legions of good and evil are locked in mortal combat. At first sight this nightmare world may appear to have little attraction for lovers of the radiant, humorous, convivial Dickens. But if the dark side of Dickens is remembered—the Dickens who, from *Sketches by Boz* to *Edwin Drood*, is obsessed by the macabre, by rebellion, by violence—the gulf between the writers narrows.

Readers who are attracted by this aspect of Dickens, and by the increasing gloom and profundity of his later novels, will be fascinated by the psychological and spiritual penetration of Dostoevsky's great dramas. The two novelists soar majestically above the landscape of world literature—great peaks of genius: Dickens partly in golden light, partly in shadow; Dostoevsky always cloud-capped, obscure and mysterious.

DICKENS THE PAYMASTER ONCE MORE[1]

By Gerald G. Grubb
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I HAVE stated elsewhere that Dickens was an excellent paymaster.[2] Professor William E. Buckler has challenged my statement, calling for a modification of my conclusions. He says: "There is one unquestionable source of information on the issue: The Contributors' Book for *Household Words* kept by Dickens's sub-editor William Henry Wills."[3] Now, that ledger covers a period of nine years from April 30th, 1850, to May 28th, 1859, and nineteen semi-yearly volumes; but Professor Buckler bases his strictures with the validity of my statement on the record of payments that went into the making of the single Volume XVIII, containing weekly Nos. 430-453, inclusive.

Professor Buckler's arguments are threefold: (1) the record for the volume he examined does not, he says, show extraordinary prices paid even to established writers; (2) he counts the columns and insists that Dickens did not pay extra for stories which ran beyond the agreed length; and (3) he compares Dickens's scale of payments in *Household Words* with that of Bradbury and Evans's *Once a Week* and claims that the latter paid a higher rate for contributions; although *Once a Week* was not a contemporary of *Household Words*, but was founded as a direct rival to Dickens's last journal, *All the Year Round*.

Dickens's twenty years of uninterrupted, satisfactory financial relations with the pound-wise Scotchman William Henry Wills was possible only because of the fundamental generosity of both men. When *Household Words* was established, Dickens allowed Wills to set his own salary and stipulate the conditions under which he would become its sub-editor.[4] Dickens first *gave* him a one-eighth share in the stock and all profits accruing to the journal;[5] then in 1856, Dickens increased Wills's share to three-sixteenths in addition to his weekly salary of £8.[6] When *All the Year Round* was established, Dickens advanced the necessary money,[7] raised Wills's salary to £420 a year, and *gave* him a one-fourth interest in the stock and the profits.[8] Upon Wills's retirement in 1869, his share was automatically reduced according to the original agreement to one-eighth, which Dickens confirmed in his will. Dickens always stood ready to give Wills financial aid, interest free.[9]

When Wills thought of accepting the editorship of the *Civil Service Gazette*, to be held in conjunction with his sub-editorship of *Household Words*, Dickens suggested a means whereby he could earn extra money by additional aid to his own contributors,[10]

[1] This article has been written with the aid of a Carnegie Grant-in-aid.
[2] Gerald G. Grubb, "The Editorial Policies of Charles Dickens," PMLA, LVIII (December, 1943), 1110-1124, especially 1117-1121.
[3] William E. Buckler, "Dickens the Paymaster," PMLA, LXVI (December, 1951), 1177-1180, especially, 117.
[4] *Nonesuch Letters*, II (2/10/55), 669.
[5] *Ibid.*, II (1/22/50), 200.
[6] *Ibid.*, II (2/12/56), 744. Also, Lehmann, *Dickens as Editor*, pp. 196
[7] *Nonesuch Letters*, III (July, 1859), 113.
[8] Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
[9] *Nonesuch Letters*, II (10/27/54), 600.
[10] *Ibid.*, II (6/10/55), 670.

and never again do we find him restive in his relations with Dickens for financial reasons.

When Dickens bought *Household Words* at auction, he paid only for Bradbury and Evans's one-quarter share[1] and continued in partnership with Wills in all stocks, stereotypes, and plates, excepting nothing but the title.[2] which he incorporated with *All the Year Round*. In this manner Dickens protected Wills who could hardly have protected his own interest in this battle of the moneyed partners.

As another example of his generosity, take Dickens's relations with G. A. Sala, financial and otherwise, who no sooner than employed, began getting advances.[3] When Dickens decided to send him to Russia as a special correspondent, Sala applied to him for a separate grant of £63 to be used in preparation for the journey.[4] Dickens complied, paid Sala £10 per week while he was engaged upon the assignment, and sent him a £10-note to pay his way home.[5] This salary, to say nothing of the grant and the travel allowance, was £2 greater per week than the salary of Wills, the sub-editor, and equal to that offered to Sala after he had become well known by Henry Vizetelly, editor of *The Illustrated Times*. When Sala returned to England and failed to fulfil his part of the contract with Dickens, the latter at first refused him permission to collect and publish his unfinished series of articles entitled *A Journey Due North*; but of his own free will, Dickens lifted the ban in 1858, and at the same time gave Sala permission to reprint anything he had ever published in *Household Words*.[6]

In spite of his discouraging experience with Sala, Dickens undertook the publication of his *Quite Alone* in *All the Year Round*, beginning in February, 1864, and after many interruptions, ending on November 12th.[7] Even then, it is said on good authority that the last third of *Quite Alone* was written by Andrew Halliday.[8]

It must be said for Sala that he recognised the importance of Dickens's generosity. In 1870, before success had made him arrogant, Sala said: " I wrote for him and for no other chief, for seven years; he sent me to Russia; we quarrelled (of course, I was in the wrong), and he laughingly *forgave me my debts* [italics mine], and my evil temper . . . "[9] How extensive his debts were and how great was Dickens's generosity are revealed in Sala's own summation:

> I had always *Household Words* as a stand-by. There was a five guinea fee for every article I wrote; I often got through two in the course of one week, and, if, as it more than once

[1] *American Publishers' Circular and Literary Gazette*, XVIII (June 4th, 1859), 270.
[2] ALS., Wills to Chapman and Hall (5/19/59), in the " Office Letter Book " of *All the Year Round*, kept for the most part by Wills, now owned by The Henry E. Huntington Library, and entirely ignored by Professor Buckler. I am indebted to the generosity of the authorities of that library for the privilege of examining a microfilm of this important book, and I assume all responsibility to the holders of the literary copyright, if there are any, for the references and quotations used in this article. Hereafter, I shall refer to this item as " OLB."
[3] *Nonesuch Letters*, II (1/10/56), 725; Fitzgerald, *Memories of Charles Dickens*, p. 258.
[4] Ralph Straus, *Sala: The Portrait of an Eminent Victorian*, p. 117.
[5] Sala, *Life of Sala, by Himself*, I, 307-310.
[6] Straus, *Sala*, p. 134.
[7] AYR., XII, 133, 153, 180, 205, 326.
[8] Straus, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
[9] Sala, *Charles Dickens*, pp. vi-vii.

happened, I overdrew my account—I did so on one occasion to the extent of twenty pounds—and, on another of seventy pounds—Dickens would, after a while, laughingly suggest the sponge should be passed over the slate and we should begin again.[1]

According to Wills, when *All the Year Round* was established Blanchard Jerrold owed Dickens and himself, as successors to *Household Words*, £18 for advances, and after that time, he had received "at various times" £55: making a total of £73. To offset these advances, Wills had given Jerrold credit for eight papers averaging £3 10*s*., making £28; and he had allowed Jerrold credit for papers *bought but not used*, £10: making a total credit of £38; but leaving an unpaid balance of £36. Wills wrote him: "You have done nothing that we have published since May, 1860," thus revealing that *All the Year Round* quietly had been carrying Jerrold's deficit two years and four months.[2]

Dickens employed R. H. Horne in May, 1850, on a three-months' engagement.[3] Wills protested the renewal of this engagement on the grounds of Horne's lack of industry and Dickens's overpayment of him, declaring that his articles were costing "something like £8 apiece" and that he was receiving some £5 5*s*. for what other contributors [were] not paid half that sum."[4] Nevertheless, Dickens renewed Horne's engagement, assuring him of his highest regards, and that the "remuneration shall be higher in your case . . . than any other."[5] When Horne went out to Australia in 1852, Dickens again renewed his engagement for four months on the strength of his promise to write articles on the voyage out and on the overland trip to the gold diggings. His salary was to be paid to his wife, who remained in England.[6]

When this agreement expired, Wills, having received no MS. from Horne, ceased payment. Three months later, Dickens received a letter from Horne indicating that he thought the salary was still being paid to his wife. About that time MS began. arriving, and Dickens instructed Wills to resume payment,[7] which continued while "A Digger's Diary" ran, intermittently through most of 1853. Judging from the small number of instal-

1 Quoted by J. W. T. Ley, *The Dickens Circle*, pp. 363-364.

2 OLB. (10/3/62), pp. 193-194. Fitzgerald said: "Boz was indeed the most liberal of men. He insisted on paying even for articles he did not make use of. Once, when I positively declined this bounty, he sent me a full set of his works." (*Op. cit.*, p. 221.) Other examples of Dickens's habit of paying for items which he did not expect to use: "To Halliday's Poetry of the Pantommes—No. Pay for it, of course" [*Nonesuch Letters*, III (2/12/65), 414]; "I say decidedly No to the Stephenson paper . . . *Pay well for the article nevertheless.* Certainly don't use it" [*Ibid.*, III (10/13/59), 131]; "It appears to me . . . a very bad No. for Miss Lynn's paper . . . Pay for it, and let it stand over" [*Ibid.*, II (10/14/54), 597-598]. Further examples of Dickens's liberality: He wrote Wills, "If an article comes to the office from Charles Whitehead . . . immediately pay for it: with a turn of the scales in his favour . . ." [*Ibid.*, II (12/13/55), 715]; Dickens to W. Jerdan: "Old Hantrey I am glad to retain. Wills has 'estimated' the old man's size (in *Household Words* feet), and I inclose said Wills' official cheque. If he should have made a mistake in the way of under-measurement, I will take care that it is set right" [ALS. (8 19 57) MS. in the Library of Congress]. Concerning the request of the author of "The Whistler at the Plough" for an advance, Dickens said to Wills: "I have no objection to making him any small advance you might think right, if your knowledge of what has passed between you interposes no bar" [ALS (9 20 55) MS. in the Huntingdon Library, to the authorities of which and to Mr. Humphry House I am indebted for the privilege of quoting here].

3 Lehmann, *Dickens as Editor* (8/17/50), p. 36.

4 *Ibid.* (8/16/50), p. 34; and (8/17/50), p. 36.

5 *Nonesuch Letters*, II (3/18/51), 280-281.

6 *Ibid.*, II (5/21/52), 395.

7 *Ibid.*, II (12/29/52), 438.

ments Dickens was able to salvage from Horne's MS., the experiment must have been an expensive one.[1]

In 1862, Dickens declined to endorse an application for aid for Horne from the Royal Literary Fund, saying, "I feel that personal delicacy on my part ought not at this pass, restrain me from mentioning that when he went away I sent Fifty Pounds out after him without his solicitation."[2]

Finally, when Horne returned to England in 1869, Dickens wrote Macready, saying, ". . . he owes me a good sum of money . . ." It is safe to say that the debt was never paid.[3]

Still another example of Dickens's generosity and of the fact that the "Contributors' Book" does not always say the last word financially, may be seen in Dickens's relations with Wilkie Collins. Professor Buckler passes over too much evidence that points contrarily to his conclusion that ". . . the special considerations given Wilkie Collins do not seem to have been financial ones."[4] Neither does he admit that Collins was in receipt of a salary from *Household Words* for many years which is not recorded in the "Contributors' Book."

Prior to Collins's rising fame and to September, 1856, this ledger does record standard payments to Collins, but about that time Dickens added him to his regular staff on a twelve-months' engagement with a salary of Five Guineas per week[5] which continued for many years. One year later, Dickens wrote Wills that he had raised Collins's salary an extra £50 per year and ". . . that he is extremely sensible of the extra Fifty, and *was rather unwilling to accept it* [italics mine]."[6]

As Mr. Kenneth Robinson, Collins's latest biographer, remarks: "Dickens it must be admitted, interpreted this engagement generously."[7] Does not the fact that Collins was somewhat unwilling to take the raise mentioned suggest that Dickens had already been generous beyond Collins's right of expectation? The fact of this engagement with a regular salary shows conclusively that the "Contributors' Book," in spite of Professor Buckler's faith in it, does not tell the whole story.

Before leaving this phase of our topic, we must recognise two elements in Dickens's generosity which were so all-pervading that they are apt to be overlooked. First, throughout his editorial career Dickens spent thousands of hours revising, reshaping, and sometimes actually rewriting hundreds of contributions by little-known authors which would have been rejected by almost any other editor. When such articles, and many there were, found places

[1] *Nonesuch Letters*, II (3/2/53), 450-451.
[2] K. J. Fielding, "Charles Dickens and Horne," *English*, IX (Spring, 1952), 17. Quoted with Mr. Fielding's permission.
[3] ALS. (10/18/69), MS. in Morgan Library, and quoted by permission.
[4] Buckler, *op. cit.*, LXVI, 1179.
[5] *Nonesuch Letters*, II (9/15/56), 800.
[6] Further evidence of this engagement: (1) after October 4th, 1846, no further payments appear in the ledger after Collins's name and numerous contributions [Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 222, note]; (2) in May, 1861, Dickens told Bulwer-Lytton that ". . . Collins has been a partner here for three years" [*Nonesuch Letters*, III (5/21/61), 220]; (3) In December, 1861, Dickens wrote Wills, "When you write tell me *when* Wilkie's salary is due from me" [ALS., MS. in Huntington Library, quoted by permission of the authorities thereof and of Mr. Humphry House]; (4) while Collins was contributing *Armadale* to *Cornhill Magazine*, Dickens wrote Wills advising him to propose a temporary engagement to Charles Reade "Seeing that we will not be paying Wilkie's salary then" [*Nonesuch Letters*, III (1/5/62), 276]; and (5) when Dickens came to America in 1867, he employed Collins to help Wills in the work of editing *All the Year Round* [*Ibid.*, III (11/21/67), 570 and (11/26/67), 573].
[7] *Wilkie Collins* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1952), p. 105.

in his columns, he paid for them just as if he had not touched them with his own pen. Any payment such authors received for such articles were, in reality, gifts touched with genius. The second element grew out of Dickens's promptness as a paymaster. His money was always ready, be it one pound or fifteen hundred pounds. There was almost never a long waiting period. On the extremely rare occasions when payment was delayed, it was the result of unusual circumstances. Many writers soon came to prefer Dickens's cash to the glowing promises and high bids of many another editor.

Dickens's generosity was manifested in the extra services which he and Wills performed for the direct financial gain of their contributors. They bought only the first publication rights; but for authors whose works were in demand, they undertook a much wider range of services. When Bulwer-Lytton was considering the writing of *A Strange Story* for *All the Year Round*, Dickens wrote him a letter which embodies the main features of his extra services to his contributors:

> For the right of such a publication . . . I would gladly pay you £1500 . . . I could at once conclude on your behalf a bargain . . . for the right of republication in a collected for two years . . . £1200. For the transmission of proofs to America . . . without damage to copyright here, I could get you . . . £300.
>
> This would make in all £3000.
>
> But all the arrangements could be immediately made, and *All the Year Round* money is ready to be paid down.[1]

When Dickens offered Mrs. Gaskell £150 for an unsolicited story, or "Two Hundred Guineas" for a story that would run for five months, or £400 for a story to run eight months, he always offered to furnish her early proofs for transmission to America, to negotiate republication for her through some accredited literary agent, and to relinquish all claim to the copyright with the completion of her story in his pages.[2] A further illustration, Dickens paid Percy Fitzgerald £2000 for first publication of five or six serials[3] and negotiated for him the resale of his *Never Forgotten* for £400, and when Wills offered Fitzgerald's *Second Mrs. Tillotson* to Richard Bentley, he wished the publisher to bear in mind that the author was then better known and should command a better price.[4] These are not isolated cases; such transactions went on constantly from year to year.

Professor Buckler notices that some of the stories which Dickens published ran beyond the stipulated length, and that he did not pay extra for the extra material. Why not?

Dickens considered a story of 160 pages, capable of running through seven to eight months, with an average of eight columns to the weekly issue as ideal for his journals.[5] His emphasis was always on the weekly or monthly duration, not on the number of printed columns. He would overload his pages from week to week, if necessary, in order to make the over-all time element come out

[1] *Nonesuch Letters*, III (12/4/60), 194-195.
[2] OLB. (4/30/61), p. 90; *Nonesuch Letters*, III (12/20/59), 139; and OLB. (7/7/61), p. 115, respectively.
[3] Fitzgerald, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
[4] OLB. (4/14/67), p. 200.
[5] *Nonesuch Letters*, III (6/12/60), 164, and AYR., II, 95.

right. He would reject a story which he could not publish within a reasonable variation of this pattern.[1] With these observations in mind, let us re-examine the case of Charles Reade and his *Very Hard Cash*, which Professor Buckler offers as an example of Dickens's parsimony and even injustice.

After a series of proposals and counter-proposals, Wills offered Reade £800 for a story of 160 pages at £5 per page—the exact rate at which Reade offered his work—with anything over 160 pages thrown in for art's sake.[2] Reade accepted the offer, and Dickens began the publication of the story long before it was finished. As publication progressed, in order to keep faith with both his policy and his public's expectations, Dickens was forced to overload his weekly issues with *Very Hard Cash*. The length became so alarming that Wills was forced to call upon Reade personally and set the date of its conclusion to coincide with the end of Volume X.[3] Therefore, when Reade ran his story far beyond the best accepted limits for his art's sake, he was not doing Dickens and *All the Year Round* a favor; he was, in reality, exploiting them for his own literary aggrandisement. Certainly Dickens did not pay Reade for a disservice.

Dickens's generosity extended to his more remote business associates. Charles Whiting was the printer of *All the Year Round*. After a thorough consideration of Whiting's contract and a comparison of bids offered by competing printeries as well equipped as Whitings, Wills found himself in possession of a bid "considerably less" than Whiting's latest estimate. In addition, Whiting's chief competitor offered certain improved methods which would effect further reductions in cost. After reviewing his findings to Whiting, Wills wrote: "But as you have met us in what I consider a fair spirit . . . I feel it to be not right to take advantage of a saving well worth making by leaving you . . ."[4]

During the early years of the American Civil War, Harper and Brothers, of New York, paid Dickens £250 per year for advance copies of *All the Year Round* with the privilege of republication in America of any story or article which did not run longer than two months. In January of 1863, Sampson Low, Harper's agent, informed Dickens that because of difficulties caused by the war, Harpers could no longer afford to pay for advance copy. Remembering the former generosity of Harpers, Wills wrote: ". . . it will give us pleasure to continue them [advance copies] every week for transmission to New York for no other return than the gratification it will, I am sure, afford Mr. Dickens . . . and myself to do so."[5]

The privilege of republishing *All the Year Round* was sold to Thomas Coke Evans for one year for the sum of £1000. The records close with Evans £589 in arrears,[6] and Evans's successor, J. M. Emerson and Company's account closed with an indebtedness

[1] See my "Dickens's Pattern of Weekly Serialisation," ELH, IX (June, 1942), 141-156.
[2] OLB. (1/22/62), p. 182.
[3] Charles L. Reade and Reverend Compton Read, *Charles Reade, Dramatist, Novelist, Journalist* (New York, 1887), p. 314.
[4] OLB. (4/23/63), p. 200.
[5] OLB. (4/23/63), p. 199.
[6] See my "Personal and Business Relations of Charles Dickens and Thomas Coke Evans," *The Dickensian*, XLVIII (September, 1952), 169.

to Dickens of £280.[1] In so far as the records show, these debts were never paid; and what is more, there is no record, so far as I know, that Dickens ever brought pressure, legal or otherwise, to collect them.

In closing this article, a word must be said about the false impression that may be planted in the reader's mind by a comparison, such as Professor Buckler makes, of the financial policy of Dickens's journals with that of Bradbury and Evans's *Once a Week*. Already I have called attention to Dickens's policy of buying only the first publication rights; whereas, *Once a Week* bought not only the first publication rights, but also, in most serials, the right of later publication in collected form by the parent publishing house. Therefore, it is a blunder in logic to compare Dickens's prices with those of *Once a Week*.[2] Rightly, Dickens did not undertake to compete financially with a publication which was in reality the front-door agent of a rich and general publishing house such as Bradbury and Evans. One must not lose sight of Wilkie Collins's remark to Holman Hunt that ". . . Dickens is not only a man of genius, he is a good business man."[3]

In conclusion, I have shown that the "Contributors' Book" does not tell the whole story of Dickens's financial relations with his contributors and that it cannot be accepted with the finality Professor Buckler would accord to it. I have established with a multiplicity of incidents that Dickens was liberal with his money, that without cost to his contributors he rendered extra services in the resale of their stories for later publication, that he was generous with his business associates, and that by the labor of his own mind and hand he salvaged many articles, and then paid well for them. Therefore, I am fully justified in reasserting that Dickens was a generous editor and an excellent paymaster.

[1] See my "The American Edition of 'All the Year Round,'" *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XLVII (Third Quarter, 1953), 303.

[2] PMLA., LXVI, 1179-1180.

[3] Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 125. Anthony Trollope records an incident which illustrates the extravagant financial policy of *Once a Week*. "Two years ago [F.S.] Dallis was editing the paper called *Once a Week*: and as it happened, I sold a novel through him to the proprietors of that paper, just at that time for publication in the paper. My price was not exorbitant . . . it was exactly at the rate I was being paid for the article from other sources. I found he was running amuck among novelists, offering to buy this and that—buying indeed, this and that; and in the meanwhile the paper had to be disposed of as worthless." [Bradford A. Booth, ed., *The Letters of Anthony Trollope* (London: Oxford Press, 1951), p. 269. Quoted with the permission of Professor Booth.] Much money was lavished on the format of *Once a Week*, and every effort was made to attract all of Dickens's contributors. For example, Bradbury and Evans made Mrs. Lynn Linton one of Dickens's contributors, such an offer: "But she remembered that Dickens's generous payments for articles had several times practically saved her from starvation, and she wrote him, telling him the facts, and asking whether he saw any objection to her accepting the offer made to her." [Ley, *op. cit.*, p. 125.] Of course, Dickens advised her to take the easy money while it was available. In his very strong and informative article on *Once a Week* under the editorship of Samuel Lucas, Professor Buckler gives some figures which enable us to make a valid, though somewhat limited comparison of the prices paid by that journal for first serial publication rights and those paid by *All the Year Round*. *Once a Week* paid Reade £5 for the first 30 pages and £3 thereafter for *A Good Fight*, making a total of £222 15s. Again, *Once a Week* paid George Meredith £369, or about £2 per page, for *Evan Harrington*. Mrs. Henry Wood was paid £11 per *installment* for *Verner's Pride*, which ran about 33 weeks and brought her £367, and *Lord Oakburn's Daughter*, which ran for about 30 weeks, brought her £330. Miss M. E. Braddon received from *Once a Week* £750 for *Eleanor's Victory*, or about £4 per page; and Professor Buckler says that she was the highest paid of all regular contributors of fiction. Now, for stories of approximately the same length designed to run about eight months, Dickens was offering Mrs. Gaskell £400, or an average of £12 10s. per installment; was paying Lever for *A Day's Ride* £100 per month for a story to run eight months, or £25 per installment; was paying Reade uniformly £5 per page, up to 160 pages, or £800, for *Very Hard Cash*; and was paying Bulwer-Lytton £1500 for *A Strange Story*. Therefore, Professor Buckler's own figures show that Dickens was a better paymaster than the proprietors of *Once a Week* when both parties were buying the same commodity—*serial rights of first publication*. See William E. Buckler, "*Once a Week* under Samuel Lucas, 1859-65," PMLA, LXVII (December, 1952), 937.

STAGES OF *GREAT EXPECTATIONS*

By Malcolm Morley

THE second serial written by Dickens for *All the Year Round* was *Great Expectations*, which ran in its pages from December 1st, 1860, until August 3rd, 1861. In the latter year, when the story had run its course, there was published by J. Holsworth, whose address was given as " at the office of *All the Year Round*," a volume described as *Great Expectations*, a drama in three stages, by Charles Dickens. From this it appears Dickens himself made a dramatisation of his novel which was never performed. The Holsworth publication is a rarity: no copy exists in the British Museum or at Dickens House. It must surely be that Dickens, anxious to retain the stage copyright of his own work, made use of a device he had employed before in the case of *A Message from the Sea*, whereby he secured protection from pilfering playwrights. The volume ranked as a published play and was registered at Stationers' Hall; any other adaptation, if made without his permission, would be an infringement of his rights. It may be assumed that publication was by way of being a formality and the text need not necessarily have to be strictly the same as that of the piece intended for performance. The printed book was more in the nature of a proposed drama from the story. Perhaps the text was arranged by someone else in the *All The Year Round* office. Confirmation of this would seem to come from the actor J. L. Toole, who mentioned in his *Reminiscences* that Dickens had said to him: " I haven't time to write plays—but it will interest you to know that when I was writing *Great Expectations*, with a view to the possibility of a dramatic version of the story, I had you in my eye all the time for Joe Gargery and Ben Webster for the Convict." Evidently Charles did not consider the drama registered at Stationers' Hall to be a finished product. It was there, on guard, should he find time and inclination to sit down and write the play of which this was no more than a preliminary draft. J. Adair Fitzgerald in his *Dickens and the Drama*, refers to the Holsworth book as " most interesting but not dramatic, as there is scarcely any action. It opens, however, with great promise, and then resolves itself too much to mere narrations of scenes and incidents. In the last act there is much more movement, however." Obviously it was a mapping out of material to indicate the line the play might take when fully written.

Only after the death of Dickens was a stage version of the novel brought to the English stage. Not so in America. On the heels of the last instalment of the serial at least four dramatisations were produced there. The first, *Great Expectations* was adapted by an English woman rejoicing in the *nom de plume* of Julie de Marguerittes, resident in Philadelphia where it was given on September 16th, 1861, at the Walnut Street Theatre. Magwitch was played by Edwin Adams, Jo Gargery by S. Hemple and Miss Havisham by Alice Grey, Pip as a boy was represented by Miss C. Jefferson, one of the theatrical family of Jefferson, and Pip as an adult by Bascomb. *The Dollar Newspaper* proudly acclaimed

the fact that *Great Expectations* was being given for the first time on any stage.

Three weeks later New York followed suit and on October 7th at Barnum's Museum an anonymous version was staged with T. H. Hadway as Gargery and W. L. Jamieson as Orlick. The part of Pip was divided between two actresses, the younger one to Addie Le Brun and the older to Mrs. J. J. Prior. Magwitch, the convict, was not listed in the cast. *Great Expectations* did not draw large audiences although the price of admission included the sight of a living hippopotamus in the Museum on to which a theatre had been grafted by the big time showman, Phineas T. Barnum. The same date, October 7th, saw *Great Expectations* by Benjamin J. Woolf at the Boston Museum, another playhouse in the guise of a biological Exhibition. The stock company here had considerable reputation in the city spoken of as the Athens of America. Pip received the attention first of Oriana Marshall and then of J. Wilson. Magwitch was enacted by William Whalley, Orlick by Frank Hardenberg, Miss Havisham by Josephine Orton, Mrs. Joe Gargery by Emily Maystayer, and Joe, himself, by Boston's own comedian, the much-loved William Warren.

The fourth American adaptation was to bear the impress of one of the most spectacular personalities in the art world of that period, Adah Menken, dancer, actress, poetress, sculptress and a few other things. Daughter of a Presbyterian minister in New Orleans, she found her way to the stage at an early age. She became celebrated, notorious it could be said, for her performance of Mazeppa in one of the stage versions of Byron's poem. In this Adah was strapped across the back of a lively horse which careered round the stage, sometimes an arena, mounting various heights the while. Her costume, or rather lack of it, was regarded as sensational, revealing, as it did, her shapely limbs. To-day the costume would shock nobody. Adah Menken came to England where she met the poet Swinburne with whom she entered upon an intimate friendship. Among the celebrities Adah claimed as friends was Dickens and to him she dedicated her book of verse *Infelicia*. In Paris where she was to end her days while still a young woman, the adventuresome American found a convivial soul in Dumas the Elder. She played Mazeppa in French and rode the fiery steed as she had done in England and America. Four times married, firstly to a musician, Alexander Isaacs Menken, when she is said to have adopted the Jewish faith; secondly to a pugilist, John C. Heenan; thirdly to a critic, Robert Newall, and lastly to a businessman, James Barkley, marriage never brought her happiness. Life was both a triumph and a failure for Adah Menken.

As a star, shooting star she might be termed with reference to her emotional and temperamental vagaries, Adah had toured the United States from coast to coast and had met life in the rough. One story told of her being captured by Indians and another of her pulling a gun on an uncomplimentary journalist. Her friends were among the Bohemians of the New World, Walt Whitman, Fitz-James O'Brien and Ada Clare. Together the foursome had discussed the making of a play from the Dickens's serial in *All*

the Year Round. Ultimately she took the task in hand herself. *Great Expectations*, dramatised by Adah Isaacs Menken, was given on March 28th, 1862, at the Theatre in Louisville, Kentucky. The evening was her Benefit Night and she played the character of Pip throughout, from the boy to the young man. Supporting her were the members of the stock company whose names have been lost to theatrical annals. Other cities saw her as Pip and on July 9th of the same year the play was produced in Boston during her star engagement at the Howard Atheneum, a rival establishment of the Boston Museum. Later, when in England, the actress had a mind to play in her adaptation of the novel, but, meeting Dickens, refrained—perhaps because of the copyright question. He taxed her about the play in America and accused her of dramatising the story without permission. She glibly gave the credit to her absent friend Ada Clare. (Indeed, it is very likely that Miss Clare did do most of the writing.) No more was said between Dickens and Menken; no more was done. The actress never ventured upon Pip this side of the Atlantic.

Adah Isaacs Menken
Victoria and Albert Museum

A drama by Andrew Halliday called *The Great City* was produced in London at Drury Lane in 1867. One of its issues was the befriending of a young girl in England by an unknown benefactor, actually an escaped convict. Because of the partial resemblance, the piece has sometimes been acclaimed a dramatisation. It is nothing of the sort. The plot is entirely different and the characters bear no likeness to the people in *Great Expectations*. Halliday was one of Dickens's young men on the staff of *All the Year Round*, and surely would have acknowledged any indebtedness to the novelist. He certainly did in his popular versions of *Dombey and Son* (*Heart's Delight*) and *David Copperfield* (*Little Em'ly*).

The first *Great Expectations* on the London stage was definitely the drama provided by W. S. Gilbert at the Court Theatre on May 29th, 1871. New to the metropolis, the playhouse had staged a series of Gilbert's dramatic works, all of them forgotten to-day. Among the prentice plays of the Victorian satirist were *Randall's Thumb*, *Creatures of Impulse*, and *On Guard*. This was some years before Gilbert became associated with Sullivan in their world-famous comic operas. He was a barrister at large, incidentally penning his *Bab Ballads* for *Fun*, a humourous weekly in those days and a formidable competitor to *Punch*. His reputation for paradox

and topsyturvy wit was growing daily. The cast at the Court included Edward Righton as Joe Gargery, J. C. Cowper as Magwitch, John Clayton as Jaggers, Eleanor Bufton as Estella and Kate Bishop, the mother of Marie Löhr, as Biddy. Pip was again divided: Jessie Powell as the child, Maggie Brennan as the young man. Miss Havisham was absent from the play which aimed at melodrama more than at character or comedy. It was revived at the Aquarium Theatre on March 19th, 1877, with many of the same players; important changes, however, were James Fawn for Gargery and Fred Dewar for Jaggers.

In America Gilbert's adaptation was given at the Boston Museum, October 16th, 1871, ten years after the one by Woolf at the same theatre. Another dramatisation, *My Unknown Friend*, by Shafto Scott is set down in the play published by Dicks as being performed at Wallack's Theatre, New York, in 1872 with John Parselle as Magwitch, John Clarke as Gargery, Ada Dyas as Biddy and the handsome H. J. Montague as the grown-up Pip. They were all worthy stage names at that time. But there is no confirmation of the play ever being done at Wallack's where the regular bill during that year consisted of entirely different pieces. It may have had a try out away from New York never to reach this most favoured and fashionable of Gotham's theatres. Or, if given there, perhaps it was for a trial matinee; such experimental occasions had their beginnings in the 1870's. The piece would appear to be the same as *My Unknown Friend*, by C. A. Scott, given in Newark, New Jersey, on July 6th, 1877. No other plays on the subject are recorded in the United States after mention is made of *Botany Bay*, by L. C. Tees, published in Philadelphia, and *Great Expectations* in 1936 by Philadel Rice whose theatrical activities ranged from Boston to Cleveland. A farce that appropriated the name of *Great Expectations*, given at the Globe Music Hall in New York in 1870, had no connection with Dickens or the novel.

For long the subject was fallow in the English theatre. No new version came along until *Pip's Patron* arrived at the Town Hall, Beccles, on January 26th, 1892, in a script assigned to William J. Rix.

Martin-Harvey, after his triumphant years as Sydney Carton, turned in later life to Magwitch. He was seen in that character in his own production of *The Convict*, at the Westminster Theatre, London, on February 4th, 1935. Ethel Dickens, in no way related to Charles, was responsible for the adaptation. Martin-Harvey, a great romantic actor, did not appear at his best in the part of the convict, a self-pitying individual as placed on the stage. Players in other rôles were Wilfred Walter as Joe Gargery, John Garside as Jaggers, Hubert Gregg as young man Pip, Jean Cadell as Miss Havisham, Thea Holme as Estella and Mary Casson as Biddy, truly a first-rate cast. When Martin-Harvey took the play on tour the following August it was renamed *The Scapegoat*, only a slightly more attractive title than *The Convict*.

During the first tense months of the last world war, a group of players, uncertain of West End prospects but determined to carry on, banded together as the Actors' Theatre for a season at the

Rudolf Steiner Hall, home of many causes. The opening date was December 7th, 1930, and *Great Expectations*, an adaptation by Alec Guiness, was given. Though the version wandered considerably, it had a number of effective scenes. Introducing the drama were two story-tellers serving as chorus. Herbert Pocket was played by Guiness, Gargery by Richard George, Pumblechook by Frank Tickle and the grown-up Pip by Marius Goring. On the distaff side were Martita Hunt as Miss Havisham, the young Estella by Yvonne Mitchell and the adult Estella by Vera Lindsey. It is a play that has proved popular throughout Britain among the Repertory Theatres, and with the now defunct Children's Theatre sponsored by Glyndebourne.

The most recent *Great Expectations* was a version by William Deneen and Michael Sherwin, very much revised and improved by Bransby Williams who scored as Magwitch when the piece was seen at the King's, Hammersmith, on July 7th, 1947. A faithfully Dickensian performance of Miss Havisham was given by Christine Silver. Before reaching Hammersmith the play in its earlier shape had visited the provinces after a debut (on March 31st) at the Granville, Walham Green.

FOR THE DICKENSIAN'S BOOKSHELF

SOMERSET MAUGHAM ON DICKENS

By Pansy Pakenham

Mr. Maugham's new book[1] is based on prefaces he wrote to abridged editions of ten novels chosen by him (in answer to an American questionnaire) as the best in the world. This origin perhaps explains the disjointed and often self-contradictory nature of his comments. Sometimes he is explaining to his readers how enjoyable the classics really are—sometimes defying the highbrow critics—sometimes turning the great novelists into Maugham characters for the benefit of his fans—sometimes running down the novel as a form of art and sometimes boosting it. It is an entertainment, he says, and if it does not entertain you, put it down - yet you must make an effort to appreciate it; these novels are the greatest in the world, yet full of dead wood and much improved by cutting; there should be no flashbacks, descriptions of scenery or meditations—yet nearly all the novels chosen have these blemishes; sex is a rather boring subject, yet his potted biographies are concerned with little but the author's sex-life, except their social origins; he has read *Don Quixote* five times, but nobody else can be expected to read it once—and so on.

Mr. Maugham shows no interest in his novelists as fellow-workers, but prefers to view them through the eye-glass of a broad-minded, cynical man of the world who can overlook a few peccadilloes but is not so tolerant of social pretensions, and delights in exposing them. He seems to think it very discreditable to Dickens that his grandmother was a housekeeper, and to Emily Brontë that her father came from the Irish peasantry, and even

[1] *Ten Novels and Their Authors*, W. Somerset Maugham. Heinemann, 21s.

Jane Austen is taken down a peg her grandfather was an attorney!

Mr. Maugham's sketch of Dickens's character and career is very much distorted by preoccupations with class and sex. He cannot see, from his club armchair, any difference between a second-rate school and a blacking factory, so decides that Dickens only imagined his childish despair after he had risen in the world. Then, his sex-life was apparently uneventful till his separation from his wife, and afterwards obscure, so Georgina Hogarth has to be brought prominently forward and made, without any evidence, his literary confidant. No mention of Forster nor of Dickens's many distinguished friends, Macready, Stanfield, Miss Burdett-Coutts, Landor, Carlyle, Bulwer-Lytton. Wilkie Collins is only introduced as a companion in dissipation, while Dickens's love of France and his life-long interest in the drama are reduced to surreptitious visits to Paris and the theatrical *demi-monde*. There is nothing about his work for social reform nor his editorship, nor the powers of concentration and self-discipline that enabled him to accomplish so much, nor his passionate devotion to his art. Instead one gets the impression of an energetic but semi-literate publisher's hack, contracting for so many thousand words a month in order to pay for extravagant dinner-parties. Yet Mr. Maugham apparently likes Dickens and intends to endear him to readers who might be repelled if they thought his morality serious, and shocked by a success independent of his parents' status.

It is noteworthy that neither the social nor intellectual aristocracy of his day were troubled by his vulgarity. It is doubtful if they would have felt so much at ease with our present G.O.M. of Fiction.

THACKERAY THE NOVELIST

by Jane Bacon

It would be well nigh impossible to omit Dickens's name from any work dealing with Victorian novelists and Professor Tillotson's *Thackeray the Novelist*[1] is liberally sprinkled with references and comparisons of the difference in the style of the two writers.

Having taken the views of some twelve people and finding they coincided with his own opinion, that Thackeray, despite some modern criticism, is still honoured and read, the writer suggests that, "given a proper send-off, people would be ready to rescue and piously furnish the house in Young Street, Kensington, where most of Thackeray's greatest work was done. It could live again and blossom—yes, with the freshness of his novels—as the London houses of Carlyle and Dickens now blossom."

Thackerayans will find the book of great interest as showing the novelist's "oneness" as the author puts it, in that it explains the introduction of the *same* character—or a relation—into different novels, with the purpose of *taking the works as a whole*. Throughout the book there seems to be a tinge of regret that Thackeray has not been appreciated to the same extent as has Dickens.

[1] *Thackeray the Novelist*, by Geoffrey Tillotson. Cambs. Univ. Press, 22/6.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR,

DICKENS AND ELLEN TERNAN

Since your publication of Professor Grubb's review of Miss Ada Nisbet's book I have searched your issues in vain for either a correction of his argument from the Professor or a rejoinder by Miss Nisbet. Instead I find merely an endorsement by Professor Wagenknecht of Professor Grubb's "masterly review." May I, therefore, intervene before the Professor's confusion of the issue receives wide acceptance?

My inverted commas do not imply criticism of his handling of the general question, with most of which I am in agreement. It is in his treatment of Miss Nisbet's new evidence that I find him so unaccountably nodding. He justly highlights Miss Nisbet's discovery of the code, noted in Dickens's pocket diary for 1867, as her main contribution to our knowledge of the subject. She quotes, it will be remembered, Dickens's instruction to Wills before leaving for America: "On the day after my arrival out I will send you a short telegram . . . etc.," of which the exact terms would have a special meaning for Miss Ternan; she gives the text of the cable (received on November 22nd) which contains the words "safe and well"; she quotes the code, which states that "safe and well" means "you don't come," as opposed to "all well," which means "you come": and she then draws the natural conclusion that Dickens had originally intended Miss Ternan to join him in America but, after enquiry on the spot, decided that this was impracticable. It is this conclusion that the Professor endeavours to tear to pieces.

Commonsense suggests that the code would be intended for this particular cable only (since only one journey was under consideration), and would automatically lapse once the instruction had been conveyed. The Professor, however, quotes a later cable, dated December 4th, which contains the words "all well," and asks us to suppose that the code would still apply; so that Dickens now wanted her to come. The argument is given its meagre ration of plausibility by his omission of the first three words of the instruction to Wills. For "on the day after my arrival" he gives "after his arrival" only, which is a very different story, and might suggest that the code would apply to any cable sent from America, if that made sense; though even so, since the instruction refers only to "a" short telegram, the Professor would still have no right to claim two.

Moreover, there is a note written in the diary against the code which, though relevant, is quoted by neither Miss Nisbet nor the Professor. It is difficult to read, but I find only one word quite illegible. It runs: "Expected by N (thro' Wills) . . . when where . . . Sat. 23rd or Sat. 30th, much nearer the 1st . . . the 2nd." The meaning I take to be: "Ellen expects to receive this from Wills on Sat. 23rd, if she is in London; or on Sat. 30th, if she is still in Italy. That is, according to the official post-office view. Judging

from my own experience it is likely to be one or two days later." In any case, it makes it doubly clear that only one cable of this significance was due.

The Professor also quotes a series of entries from one of the left-hand pages in the December section of the diary. He is here concerned to adduce evidence which might indicate a different plan in Dickens's mind from that inferred by Miss Nisbet. His argument is not quite clear to me but, as his object is to imply that no reliable inference can be drawn at all, perhaps the effect of confusion is part of his aim. Such as it is, however, it seems to be based on readings of the text with which I disagree. My own version amply supports Miss Nisbet.

To begin with, the diary proper only occupies the right-hand pages, the blank pages on the left being mainly used by Dickens for what are clearly pencil notes of appointments. The signs which the Professor prints as inverted commas I read as minute " th "s, the figures representing dates. (The little diary is very tiny, only 10 × $5\frac{1}{2}$ cms., with a month to a page.) Then, in his third entry, " If R N in London . . . 10th," I challenge the R. There is a blot on the letter, but I take it to be P (for Peckham), though it might be D. The R, I suspect, stands for Radley. Mr. Radley was the proprietor of the Adelphi Hotel, Liverpool. Dickens thought highly of both. He described him as " my faultless friend, Mr. Radley."[1] If I am right, the two consecutive entries should read: " If P, N in London; if R, N in Liverpool." This would imply that a further code letter had been agreed, intended to advise him where to reach her with a last-minute cablegram in the event of her moving at this time from London to Liverpool in preparation for the journey. The entries, being notes of advance arrangements, would naturally be made long before the dates against which they appear, and so would represent part of a plan, rather than a last-minute change of mind, as the Professor proposes. The final entry quoted: " S—— for N. York . . . 14th," I read as " Scotia for N. York," and take to be the name and date of sailing (presumably from Liverpool) of the ship in which Miss Ternan was to travel, if she went.

A letter to Wilkie Collins, dated October 5th, 1867, told him: " I don't go until the ninth of November, the *Scotia* being full "; so that Dickens at first hoped to sail on the vessel himself. I learn also from the Cunard Co. that the *Scotia* did in fact sail from Liverpool on December 14th, 1867, reaching New York on the 26th.

The Professor concludes his demonstration by trying to persuade us that " You come " might well mean " You travel from Florence to London." I hesitate to differ from a professor on his own ground, but my dictionary tells me that, in a message, " to come " means to move in the direction of the sender.

I am grateful to Mr. H. C. Dickens and the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library for permission to make use of copyright material.

FELIX AYLMER.

[1] "Dickens and Liverpool" by Thomas N. Philip. *Dickensian*, 1928, p. 288.

SIR,

A RE-EXAMINATION OF *EDWIN DROOD*

As one of Sherlock Holmes's biographers I would like to comment on the references to him in the three articles by Mr. Bleifuss entitled "A Re-Examination of Edwin Drood." According to him most Droodists have been in error in approaching *The Mystery* as if Dickens was Conan Doyle and Dick Datchery was Sherlock Holmes. As a result their solutions are, in his opinion, much too complicated.

I would respectfully suggest that this is an over-simplification. Dick Datchery may be poles apart from Sherlock Holmes, but Dickens is not quite so remote from Conan Doyle. In other words, we must distinguish between two factors that contribute towards the popularity of the Sherlock Holmes stories, the element of detection and the element of surprise.

No one would expect a Dickens detective to reconstruct the murderer from his hat or from some other article which he had discarded. This obviously is pure Sherlock Holmes, and it is, of course, this side of Holmes which naturally comes first to mind. But quite apart from detection the Sherlock Holmes stories are frequently notable for the surprises that are sprung on the reader. Thus, the presumed murderer and his supposed victim turn out to be the same person, or the man whom we had assumed to be a German spy is, in fact, Holmes in disguise. Can we say with any confidence that Dickens never indulges in similar practices?

What about Smike turning out to be a son of Ralph Nickleby? What about Hugh turning out to be a son of Sir John Chester? What about Magwitch turning out to be Estella's father and Pip's unknown benefactor? Less obviously, what about the sudden transformations of Boffin and of the elder Martin Chuzzlewit?

For most of us familiarity has worn off the element of surprise long ago, but were we not astonished when we first made these discoveries? If *Nickleby* had come at the end of Dickens's career and he had died leaving it uncompleted, would Mr. Bleifuss have predicted that Smike was Ralph's son, or would he have said that this was a solution worthy only of the Sherlockian Droodist?

I think, therefore, that Dickens was quite capable of sending his readers off on a false trail. It would not be beyond his powers to lay a few effective red herrings if he wanted to do so. That something of this sort was in his mind can be inferred from the first paragraph of the postcript to *Our Mutual Friend* in which he appears to be slightly piqued by the readers who knew from the start, firstly, that John Harmon was alive and secondly, that he was John Rokesmith. In this particular case, he had, of course, made no effort to mislead them, but I cannot help feeling that their attitude would act as a challenge to him, and that this would be re-inforced by the success of Wilkie Collins's mystery book, *The Moonstone*.

This time the problem must be made much more difficult. First, there must be real doubt as to whether the new "Harmon"

is alive or dead. Secondly, so far as it can be repeated, the "Harmon = Rokesmith" issue must be made much more difficult.

The new "Harmon" is Edwin Drood and Datchery is the new version of the "Harmon = Rokesmith" problem. If the two problems are treated as a single one, it is clear that Dickens has succeeded in baffling posterity, in that the wrong answers are far in excess of the right ones. I know of forty-one attempts to supply the answer. If Edwin is dead and Bazzard is Datchery seven of these are right and thirty-four are wrong. In any other circumstances the number of correct solvers will be even fewer.

My own guess is that Edwin survived and that Datchery is someone who has met him after his disappearance from Cloisterham. I do not think he is anyone who has previously appeared in the story. He may be a member of the Drood family. It is possible that he is wearing a disguise, but it is equally possible that Dickens is merely trying to suggest this in order to lead the reader on to the wrong track. I think he hoped that all those who thought that Edwin was alive would assume that he was Datchery and that all those who thought that he was dead would think that Bazzard was Datchery. Both would be wrong.

Finally, I would like to mention one further topic discussed by Mr. Bleifuss. I refer to the theory put forward in 1911 by the late Professor Henry Jackson that the chapters as we know them are in the wrong order and that if Dickens had lived longer he would have placed our Chapter XVIII between Chapters XXII and XXIII. I am in complete agreement with Mr. Bleifuss that there does not seem to be anything to justify a change in the order, but I think perhaps he may not know that Jackson abandoned his own theory eight years after he had first propounded it. Nor, so far as I am aware, has any subsequent writer attempted to repeat his arguments though one or two have mentioned them with approval.

The withdrawal is contained in a letter to *The Times Literary Supplement* of August 7th, 1919. In it Jackson states that after further consideration he is satisfied that Dickens deliberately placed the chapters in the order in which we now have them. He therefore abandons the theory that Datchery is Helena, admits that the Datchery problem is insoluble and assumes "that for the interest of the second half of the story Dickens proposed to depend for the most part on new characters."

Since the original theory is contained in a book, but the withdrawal is merely in a letter, it is not surprising that from time to time, supporters and opponents alike, refer to the former without apparently being aware of the existence of the latter. But in the circumstances unless someone is prepared to re-open the argument anew, it would seem that this mare's nest should be finally buried. After all, there are so many other problems to argue about in connection with *Edwin Drood*.

GAVIN BREND

THE EDITOR'S TOUR OF NORTH AMERICA

IT has recently been claimed in these pages that the Dickens Fellowship has been making history of late; perhaps my recently concluded visit to the North American Branches may be deemed not unworthy to provide a further instance of this activity. Since the memorable visit made in 1931 by Mr. A. W. Edwards, Hon. Secretary 1925-1936, no member of the Executive in London has undertaken such a tour. Of the twenty-five branches on the North American continent, I visited twelve, met deputations from two others and the founder of another in course of formation—fifteen in all. The tour was planned to embrace as many visits to branches as possible, together with as extensive a scheme of private sight-seeing as could be accomplished in three months. I travelled seventeen thousand miles, from Newfoundland to Yucatan in the East, and from Vancouver to Acapulco, Mexico, in the West.

In September, I landed at Boston as did Dickens himself in 1842, having halted at Halifax, as also did Dickens, and was given the warmest of welcomes by Mrs. Bagley and Mr. Livingston Stebbins. During the next few days I was driven by Miss Cora E. Moss many hundreds of miles through the beautiful New England countryside and visited Longfellow's home where Dickens was entertained by the poet, the houses of Emerson, Alcott, Hawthorne, and many other historic places. I saw Harvard under the guidance of Mr. Livingston Stebbins, who knows and loves every stone of it, and Dickensian Boston itself was shown to me by Mr. Edward F. Payne. In all probability this was the last time he trod this historic ground, the story of which he made so peculiarly his own. His lamented death is reported on another page. My meetings with the Boston Branch were arranged for my return to Boston in November.

Crossing into Canada at Niagara, the first branch to be visited was Toronto where I had wonderful guides in the persons of Mr. Leonard Parker and Mr. Albert Hambley. Included in my tour was the beautiful Hart House Theatre at the University, where the Fellowship stages its performances. The evening was devoted to a reception at the United Empire Loyalist House, at which I had an opportunity of addressing the members. The next day I went on to Montreal where I met several members of the Executive at luncheon and saw a good deal of the city under the guidance of Dr. Armitage, Messrs. Wilson and Mainer, and particularly that portion of it known to Dickens in 1842, with Mr. Andrew Paterson as guide. I also visited the Victoria Hall, Westmount, where the branch produces its dramatic adaptations. After traversing the continent mainly by air, but through the Rockies by C.P. Rly., I came to Vancouver where I was welcomed by Mr. Noel Robinson. He and Mrs. Williams, who placed herself and her car at my disposal, saw to it that I saw as much of the city as I could crowd in. A meeting of the branch took place at the home of Miss Mary Mackenzie, where I was able to address the members. Then came the beautiful sail to Victoria where Mr. Robinson and I were met by Mr. Waterston, Mr. Clement May and other members of the

branch and driven around the lovely country. In the evening the President, Mr. Waterston, invited the branch to his home and thus gave me the chance of speaking to the members there.

Leaving Canada I was driven over the border by Mrs. Williams and down to Seattle, where I was the guest of Mrs. Joseph Mattes, the daughter of Mr. Guy P. Bible, ex-President of the Philadelphia Branch. Here the Seattle Branch was entertained at an evening reception in order that I might meet them. Two members from the Everett Branch also attended this reception. A few days later at San Francisco I had the pleasure of meeting Father Joseph Fulton, who is forming a Branch among his students at St. Albert's College, Oakland. Then at Los Angeles I was the guest of the California Pickwick Club, whose secretary, Mrs. Eunice Griffiths, welcomed me on arrival, arranged the details of my three-day visit, and gave a reception for me at her house on the night of my arrival. On the second day I was the guest of Mrs. Romayne Martin of the Palos Verdes Branch, and attended a reception in the evening given for me by Miss Alice Pattener. On the third day I was shown the Dickensian treasures of the Huntington Library by Dr. Lionel Stevenson, and in the evening was the guest at a Dinner given for me jointly, at the Café de Paris, Sunset Boulevard, by the California Pickwick Club, and the Branches of Palos Verdes, Pasadena, and Los Angeles. Dr. Stevenson was in the Chair, and the Dutch Consul and the British Vice-Consul were among the hundred and twenty guests.

Continuing my tour *via* the Grand Canyon, I spent some time in Mexico, and the United States were re-entered at New Orleans, where I was entertained at the almost century-old Pickwick Club by Mr. A. P. Miceli, the Club's historian, and I travelled on to Florida where I was the guest of Mr. Guy P. Bible, until lately President of the Philadelphia Branch, and Mrs. Bible. Although no branch exists at present in Florida, I was able to tell a large group of Mr. Bible's friends in Daytona Beach something about the Fellowship at a reception he held for me at the house of two brilliant pianists, Messrs. Francis Stevenson and Horace Bennett, whose playing contributed much to the evening's pleasure.

After a stay in Washington and a flying visit to New York in order to attend the English Speaking Union Dinner to H.M. the Queen Mother, I came to Philadelphia as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Goldsmith. After seeing the fine Dickens collection in the Elkins Room at the Public Library, which institution was the scene of a gathering of the Philadelphia Branch, with a deputation from that at Chester, which I was able to address, and at which an interesting presentation was made to me, Mr. Goldsmith drove me many miles in and around the city during which I was able to see much that Dickens himself saw, and the exciting Dickens collection at the Rosenbach Foundation.

Returning to New York, my programme included a morning at the Pierpont Morgan Library with Dr. Edgar Johnson, another at the Berg Collection at the Public Library with Dr. John D. Gordan, both of supreme interest for the Dickensian, a meeting with Professor Gregg Sinclair, of the Honolulu Branch, at the University Club, so reminiscent of the Athenaeum in London,

and a reception held for me by the New York Branch at the Republican Women's Club, under the chairmanship of the President, Mrs. Paul Criblet.

So back to Boston, and it seemed like coming home. The monthly meeting of the Branch at the Parish Hall of the Arlington Street Chapel was placed at my disposal at which to address the members, another day there was a reception at Lesley College, where Mr. Livingston Stebbins has established a Dickens Corner in the library, and finally, perhaps the most striking of all the functions arranged for me, a luncheon in the Dickens Room at the Parker House. This room incorporates many features of the room Dickens occupied in the old Parker House in 1868, and includes the admirable Dexter bust. The table is that at which Dickens and his friends sat after the famous " Walking Match," and at that table we sat on November 16th. In effect this was my farewell to the Fellowship in America and my many Boston friends made it evident that my mission had not been without success. Many nice things were said about me and I tried to express my thanks and my gratification that I had been privileged to convey the greetings of my colleagues in England to American and Canadian Dickensians, and that I hoped and believed that I had been able to do a little to cement afresh the bonds that unite us. If I may judge from the generous hospitality and the cordiality of the reception everywhere accorded me, then, indeed, I am entitled to assume that I may. L.C.S.

A welcome is extended to the following newly appointed secretaries: Miss Gertrude White who succeeds Mrs. M. R. Edwards (deceased) at Montreal, Miss B. Wright succeeding Miss J. C. Harper at Auckland, Mrs. R. M. Warren succeeding Mr. J. Holmes at Edmonton, Mrs. Rickard succeeding Mrs. A. W. Hamaker at Los Angeles, Miss Claire Peeler who succeeds Mr. Samuel A. Ritchie (deceased) at New York, and Mrs. Kirton who succeeds Miss L. Mackenzie at Wellington.

Among visitors from overseas we have recently welcomed the following: Mr. George Thomas of Chicago, Mr. and Mrs. Barrington of Montreal, Mr. John Williams of Chester, Pa., Mrs. Barnett, Miss E. Needham and Mrs. O. Leith of Melbourne, Mrs. C. J. Lee of Sydney and Mrs. Leigh Bair of New York.

Southend

The editor's absence explains the long delay in recording a successful excursion to Cobham last summer. The party greatly enjoyed the Church, the Park and the College, while the Leather Bottle catered for them as satisfactorily as it did for Tracey Tupman.

Chester Pa.

The Chester (Pa.) Branch celebrated its Jubilee with a Dinner on November 13th. Mr. Harry Hynes presided and during the evening presented a framed photograph of the famous monument to Dickens in Philadelphia, to Dr. Aslyas Kassab, the only charter member remaining on the register. Mr. W. Stewart Blackburn gave the invocation, and the guests were welcomed by the President, Mr. Frank Seletz.

Brief contributions are invited for this page. *Press cuttings not acceptable.*

OBITUARY

Edward F. Payne

By the death on January 7th of Edward F. Payne, at the age of 84, the Boston Branch lost its President of thirty years, and its beloved friend. His comic strip, the second oldest in America, has appeared regularly in the Boston *Globe* for 56 years. His especial study was Dickens on whom he had written and published innumerable articles. His book on Dickens and Boston is still the principal source of information about Dickens's visits. But it was his work for the Fellowship that is perhaps his greatest monument. There his kindly nature, his erudition, and his human understanding made him widely loved. All these qualities shone forth when, a very sick man, he conducted the writer in the footsteps of his beloved Dickens in September last. The Boston Branch and indeed the Dickens world is the poorer for his passing.

L.C.S.

Alice Newcombe

St. Pancras mourns the death of Mrs. Newcombe who until a few months ago had been its Hon. Secretary for 26 years. She died on January 13th at the age of 84. An indefatigable worker both in the Fellowship and in the public life of the borough, forthright to a degree but unswerving in her loyalties, she never lost sight of the goal she set herself until she reached it. It was her proud boast that the little Branch she lead so gallantly never ceased to function even in the darkest days of World War II. We salute her indomitable spirit.

L.C.S.

Marcia Haiste

The Rugby Branch has suffered grievous loss by the tragic death in a 'bus accident on January 11th of Mrs. Marcia Haiste, its President. Mrs. Haiste, who was the wife of the Borough Librarian, was keenly interested in Dickens, and at the Birthday Dinner last year, made a brilliant speech in proposing the toast of The Immortal Memory. She was an experienced dramatic producer and on the evening before she met her death, had played Mrs. Malderton in a production of *Horatio Sparkins*, given by the members. She leaves a husband and a little boy for whom deep sympathy is expressed.

F.J.H.

C. H. Blackford

The Redditch Branch has been bereaved by the death of Mr. C. H. Blackford, a Past President and a founder member. He was a staunch, able, and helpful member, and as a regular delegate to Conference will be remembered by members of many branches.

E.M.T.

Robert Shirley Shuckburgh

Our deepest sympathy is extended to Mrs. Shuckburgh (Olive Dickens) on the death of her husband, Mr. R. S. Shuckburgh, who also leaves a son, Mr. R. C. D. Shuckburgh, so well known in so many branches of the Fellowship, and a daughter, Mrs. Hugh Danby.

L.C.S.

Samuel A. Richie

The New York Branch is bereaved by the death on January 18th of Mr. S. A. Ritchie, its corresponding secretary. He was President from 1948 to 1953.

L.C.

Edna Stebbins

The Boston Branch suffered another sad loss, on January 31st, by the death of Mrs. Livingston Stebbins, who had been ill since her return from Europe in the autumn. Beloved of many friends in Boston, she was fast becoming as well known in London, which she visited regularly since the war, attending the Conferences of 1952 and 1954. Our deepest sympathy is extended to her husband.

L.C.S.

We also regret to record the death of:

Mr. G. J. Hicks (Auckland, a Vice-President)
Miss C. Darbyshire (Manchester)
Mrs. M. R. Edwards (Montreal, Secretary)
Mr. Moxon (Sheffield)
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In Memoriam

A window to the memory of Dr. B. W. Horan, President of the Toronto Branch, 1947-50, was dedicated in Wycliffe College Chapel, by the Bishop of Toronto on September 15th.

NOTES ON *BARNABY RUDGE*

By T. W. Hill

(*Continued from* Vol. L, p. 94).

Chapter VIII

4. MARRY HER AT THE FLEET. Unorthodox marriages, by clerical prisoners, were performed in the Fleet Prison for debtors. These marriages were abolished by Act of Parliament in 1754, so Dickens was a little late in his reference to them in 1775.

5. DISFIGURE TEMPLE BAR. The western limits of the City Liberties (without the wall) where Fleet Street joins the Strand. It was built by Wren in 1672 replacing an earlier wooden structure. The projected disfigurement probably refers to a proposed attack on the royal statues that adorn the Bar. The whole was pulled down in 1878 and was in 1887 re-erected at Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire.

6. FLEET MARKET. This market was formerly on the banks of the Fleet river (from Holborn Bridge to the Thames), and when the Ditch was covered in, was erected on the culvert; it extended from Ludgate Circus to Holborn, now known as Farringdon Street. The market was moved in 1826-29 to Shoe Lane, where it was known as Farringdon Market. When Holborn Viaduct was constructed and the whole neighbourhood re-formed in 1864-69 the Market was closed and incorporated in the London Central Market adjoining Smithfield.

Chapter IX

1. GREEN AS CHEMISTS' LAMPS. Only chemists of the old school now exhibit in their windows the three huge glass bottles of coloured water (green, red and yellow, sometimes blue) behind which are placed lights. Some chemists had in addition a lamp over the shop door displaying red glass surrounding a green "bull's-eye," but most of these have disappeared.

2. HENBANE. A poisonous plant, *Hyoscyamos*, that owes its name to the fact that its consumption (especially during the seeding season) is responsible for the death of poultry which find it growing on the waste ground, rubbish-heaps, etc., where they they love to delve. Henbane is a narcotic, sedative and anodyne and is used in the pharmacopoeia.

3. MOURNING COACH AND FEATHERS. The poorest classes liked to indulge in the most expensive trappings for funerals and the ostrich feathers, black velvet palls and tassels, and sometimes the mutes, are even now not quite extinct. Such ostentation was abhorrent to Dickens whose will is most explicit: "I emphatically direct that I be buried in an inexpensive, unostentatious and strictly private manner: that no public announcement be made of the time of my burial: that at the utmost not more than three plain mourning coaches be employed: and that those who attend my funeral wear no scarf, cloak, black bow, long hat-band, or other such revolting absurdity."

4. GOLDEN LION COURT. East out of Aldersgate Street: the site is now occupied by Falcon Avenue (Harben).

Chapter X

1. STANDISH. An old name for a stand or desk-fitting to hold pens and ink. Pope wrote a short poetical acknowledgement for a present of a Standish and Pens.

2. RIDING DOUBLE. Riding two at a time on horseback pillion fashion. This is the only mention of Barnaby in connection with horse-riding except in chapter lxviii, when he sprang up behind Hugh, who had been wounded, on the last night of the riots.

Chapter XI

1. KNOTTED PANES OF GLASS. The small panes with a lump or "knot" of glass in the centre. This was originally a waste product at the glass works, and was often used for outhouses and sheds, but in later years has become fashionable for cottage doors, bungalows, etc.

2. CAN OF FLIP, SIXPENCE. Intoxicating liquors were much cheaper a hundred years ago than they are to-day. In *Oliver Twist* Cruikshank in one of the illustrations shews a public house with an advertisement in the window: "Fine Ale 3d. pr pot." [quart].

3. WHOSE MOTHER WAS HUNG. Hugh's mother's fate recalls that at that period there were in circulation a number of forged Bank of England one-pound notes. Forgery was punishable by death or transportation. (See chapter xxxvii, note 8.) The death penalty for forgery or "having in possession without lawful excuse any forged bank-note, etc., knowing it to be forged," was abolished in 1832, and penal servitude substituted.

4. YOU'RE IN TWIG. The origin of this slang term for in fine fettle, or in great form, is buried in obscurity, it is found in Vaux's Flash Dictionary, 1812.

CHAPTER XII

1. WARM AS A TOAST IN A TANKARD. Mulled ale in a tankard often had a piece of toasted bread added to it, it was supposed to improve the flavour. Another popular saying of the period, implying comfort, was " snug as a bug in a rug."

CHAPTER XIII

1. BLACK LION. There is an inn of the same name on the site. Black Lion Yard still exists as a small side turning by No. 75 Whitechapel Road.

2. TOP OF THE MONUMENT. Joe's sixpence was then the correct fee if he had wanted to climb the 345 steps: the fee was later reduced to threepence. The Monument seems to have had a fascination to Dickens. Little David Copperfield used to look at it from London Bridge: Todger's was close by; Dorrit's solicitor had his office there; the man in charge told Tom Pinch " it's worth twice the money to stop here."

7. THAMES STREET. At that time, as now, one of the centres of the foreign wine trade.

8. PROVIDING YOURSELF. The verb provide was throughout the nineteenth century current in connexion with the engagement and dismissal or resignation of domestic servants. It is recorded that the Rev. James Palmer had to resign the living of St. Bride's Fleet Street, but was allowed the use of his room above the porch of the church (the pre-Wren building destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666) until he could " provide himself " elsewhere. (*Survey of London*, vol. 35, 1944).

9. CHAIR. A sedan-chair; the sign of " The Two Chairmen " was not uncommon as an inn-sign: one or two survive to the present time.

10. CROW TO PLUCK. To pluck a bird seems to go back to classic times. In Sparta the children in their quarrels annoyed one another by pulling the feathers out of each other's bird pets. Down the ages geese, finches and lapwings appear at different times in the saying, but Shakespeare established the crow as the proper bird to pluck with anyone against whom a complaint is made and an explanation demanded:

" *Antipholus.* " I'll break in: go borrow me a crow.
Dromio. A crow without a feather? Master, mean you so?
For a fish without a fin, there's a fowl without a feather:
If a crow help us in sirrah, we'll pluck a crow together."
Comedy of Errors, act iii, sc. i.

CHAPTER XIV

1. POUSSETTING. A French word used in the ballroom: it means swinging one's partner round in circles, as in a country dance.

2. CASKET THAT HOLDS THE JEWEL. This allusion probably recalls a legend from the *Gesta Romanorum* (fourteenth century) and reproduced by Shakespeare in the *Merchant of Venice*, for Portia's method of choosing a husband.

CHAPTER XV

1. TEMPLE ON A SULTRY DAY. Dickens loved the Temple and has references to it in *Bleak House* and *Our Mutual Friend*. See also his description of *Fountain Court* in *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

2. WHO ENTERS HERE LEAVES NOISE BEHIND. This inscription seems to recall the inscription over the gate to the Infernal Regions in Dante's Inferno: "All hope abandon ye who enter here."

3. PAPER BUILDINGS. These were built in 1609, destroyed in the Great Fire of London, 1666, burnt down, including of course, Chester's Chambers, in 1838, and re-built partly in red-brick; hence their facetious name Blotting-paper Buildings. 1848. Badly damaged during an air-raid in 1941.

4. TWENTY-FIVE OR THIRTY MILES. That is just about the distance from the Temple to Chigwell and back.

5. VALENTINE AND ORSON. The parallel is most apt as in the nursery tale Valentine was brought up by King Pepin and became an elegant gentleman, while his twin brother Orson was nursed by a bear and grew up heavy, strong and uncouth.

(To be continued)

The Dickens Fellowship

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Thurs., 24th. The Descriptive Gift of Dickens. Rev. George A. Parkinson. Preceded by a Bring and Buy Sale in aid of the National Children's Home and Orphanage at 6 p.m.*

April Tues., 19th. Annual General Meeting and Members' Evening. "Horatio Sparkins," by the Dramatic Section.*

Sat., 30th. Ramble: Golden Square, conducted by Mr. T. V. Brewer. Meet outside Princes Theatre, 2-30 p.m.

May 13th-16th ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT BLACKPOOL: details on application.

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* At Swedenborg Hall, 20/22 Bloomsbury Way.

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